

PAUL MARTIN AND PARAMOUNT • SCHOOLING GIRLS FOR SUCCESS

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

APRIL 25, 1994 \$2.95

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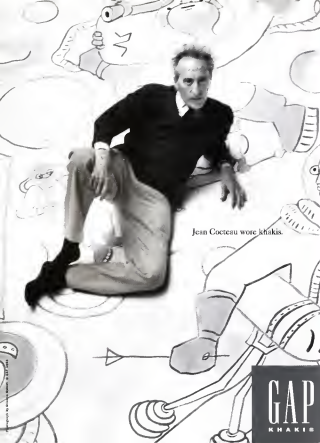
**SOUTH
AFRICA
VOTES**

From Prisoner To President

Can Nelson Mandela
Prevent Civil War?

Taking The Pulse Of
Anxious Voters





Jean Cocteau wore khakis.

Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE
APRIL 29 1984 VOL. 107 NO. 17

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PHOTOGRAPHY: (Clockwise from top left) George R. R. Martin, Peter C. Newman, James Ting, and a group of soldiers in the field. (Bottom left) A group of soldiers in the field. (Bottom right) A group of soldiers in the field.



Prisoner to president

22 At age 75, Nelson Mandela and 30 million other blacks are eligible to vote for the first time in a South African election. Mandela, who spent 27 years behind bars until his release by President F.W. de Klerk in 1990, is certain to lead his African National Congress party to an overwhelming victory and emerge as the country's new president.

Schooling for success

50 By encouraging students to develop their self-esteem, and offering a "woman-centred" curriculum, Toronto's Linden School claims to offer its education in which girls can thrive—while learning the fundamentals of democracy.



The Paramount connection

17 The tangled tale of why Ottawa sold Guinness Publishing Canada Inc. to the U.S. media giant Paramount Communications Inc. takes a new twist. Maclean's has learned that a company owned by Finance Minister Paul Martin has ongoing business dealings with a subsidiary of Paramount.

GAP
KHAHIS

COVER PHOTO BY HANCOCK/ONYX

BY JEFFREY

LETTERS

Off the mark

Kudos for Barbara Ansel's column "The trouble with Bill and Hillary" (April 10). She is correct in saying that Hillary Clinton is rewording the U.S. Constitution and is not properly accountable as an elected official. However, in saying that President Bill Clinton's "paranoiacal penny-pinching reflects a certain kind of Baptist ethics," she makes a grave error. It is unfair to compare Baptist Christians with a broad brush when such a statement about Jews, Scots or any other group or religion would certainly be deemed unacceptable.

Rev. Janine Myers,
First Baptist Church,
Doverville, Ont.

I won't beched in all to find that Bill Clinton gave his brilliant and capable wife an important and visible place in his administration. It was absolutely proper for the beginning that he planned to do. I noted for Clinton knowing that the package includes Hillary's tireless energies. I subscribe to Madison knowing that your editorial package also includes Barbara Ansel's tireless energies. The difference is the difference between *insane* and *despise*.

Michael Petrowsky,
Plattsburgh, N.Y.

Ansel's initial point is a reasonable one, as the lack of public accountability for Hillary Clinton's work in the White House is a subject of genuine concern. However, Ansel's readers of topic into a simplistic critique of President Clinton's foreign policy—which by some anti-imperialist process he comes Mrs. Clinton's lack—then ends with the same conclusion that "The First Lady has emancipated America." This is incredibly facile and as much to threaten people everywhere.

Alan C. Moskat,
Larchmont, New York

'Far too rare'

Editorials such as yours, calling for a closer perspective on increasing federal spending in Quebec ("Misleading Canada Work" April 11), are far too rare in Canada. We Canadians are quick to criticize and slow to praise other provinces. I am among the great majority of us who are proud that Quebec is a sovereignly dynamic and successful part of Canada.

Marley G. Williams,
Victoria



Hillary and Bill Clinton: in case far less included her tireless energies

I am surprised that you don't get the point about the current relationship between Quebec and rest of Canada. You ask: "In the \$5-billion yearly budget for the North American Free Trade Agreement commission (on the environmental policy side) does it come to you?" Do you really think such a policy can win satisfy Quebec or help the so-called federalist provincial Liberal party was the next election in Quebec? Many Canadians now lately recent settling trust in Quebec, whose separatist leaders steadily believe that they can survive in or to depend on country. If they believe that they can flourish without the resources and protection of Canada, why do they need such financial help now?

Ted Jackson,
Guelph, Ont.

Canadians first

In your interview with President Bob Rae, he says that Ontario's deficit "would be dramatically lower if we had not had the [Medicare] cap on the Canada Assistance Plan." ("We are all in the same boat," "Canada, April 4). This is true, but what he fails to mention is that a lower deficit for Ontario results in a higher deficit for Quebec. The only way out of our massive debt problem is for Quebecers to quit bickering among themselves and to begin supporting one another, enabling them to make the difficult decisions that are needed. Let's not forget that we are Canadians before we are anything else, regardless of which province we happen to live in.

Michael Lucht,
Mount Pleasant, Ont.

'Deeply disturbed'

I am deeply disturbed by what happened in Somalia ("A few bad men," "Cover," March 28), and my father, a former Canadian Forces peacekeeper who has passed away, would have been horrified. The *Canadians* are not severe enough, and to those soldiers that did nothing to help Shabazz Abukar Anwar, may his death be history so that needs for all their lives.

Pauline Martin,
London, Ont.

I feel considerable sympathy for Pm. Brian Mulroney, convicted of manslaughter in the torture and killing of Anwar. Considering the stress to which Anwar had been exposed—danger from rocks, guns, looting—his reaction, though not condoned, is understandable. Why the higher ranking men who heard the screams of anguish do nothing? Why is the military allowing Anwar to witness the whole of the blame?

David Wells,
Selkirk, B.C.

For the record

Just for the record, Italy's Fascist dictator, Benito Mussolini, was killed by partisans on April 28, 1945, and was in 1943 ("Elder Berlusconi," "World," April 10). When he was only removed from power.

Albert Bess,
Toronto

Musicals' author's note: Since the letters may be about far more and about things that are not about the author's musical career, I will be happy to receive letters in the future. Please send them to: 100 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5H 2P7. Or call: (416) 591-7777.



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1915-03-15	5678 Oak Ave.	555-5678	Catholic	Engineer	Single	College			
1920-07-22	9012 Elm St.	555-9012	Jewish	Doctor	Married	University			
1925-11-08	3456 Pine Rd.	555-3456	Muslim	Farmer	Single	High School			
1930-05-10	7890 Maple Dr.	555-7890	Buddhist	Artist	Married	College			
1935-09-03	2109 Cedar Ln.	555-2109	Hindu	Businessman	Single	University			
1940-12-18	6543 Birch St.	555-6543	Sikh	Engineer	Married	College			
1945-04-25	1098 Willow Ave.	555-1098	Christian	Teacher	Single	High School			
1950-08-12	4321 Spruce Rd.	555-4321	Muslim	Doctor	Married	University			
1955-02-28	8765 Ash Dr.	555-8765	Jewish	Engineer	Single	College			
1960-06-14	2109 Birch Ln.	555-2109	Buddhist	Artist	Married	College			
1965-10-01	6543 Cedar St.	555-6543	Hindu	Businessman	Single	University			
1970-03-19	1098 Elm Ave.	555-1098	Sikh	Engineer	Married	College			
1975-07-05	4321 Pine Rd.	555-4321	Christian	Teacher	Single	High School			
1980-11-20	8765 Spruce Dr.	555-8765	Muslim	Doctor	Married	University			
1985-05-07	2109 Willow Ln.	555-2109	Jewish	Engineer	Single	College			
1990-09-23	6543 Birch St.	555-6543	Buddhist	Artist	Married	College			
1995-01-11	1098 Cedar Ave.	555-1098	Hindu	Businessman	Single	University			
2000-05-29	4321 Elm Rd.	555-4321	Sikh	Engineer	Married	College			
2005-09-16	8765 Pine Dr.	555-8765	Christian	Teacher	Single	High School			
2010-03-04	2109 Spruce Ln.	555-2109	Muslim	Doctor	Married	University			
2015-07-21	6543 Willow St.	555-6543	Jewish	Engineer	Single	College			
2020-11-09	1098 Birch Ave.	555-1098	Buddhist	Artist	Married	College			
2025-05-26	4321 Cedar Rd.	555-4321	Hindu	Businessman	Single	University			

BRUCE COCKBURN

Macleans's

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OPENING NOTES

An exemplary expedition

It was a road trip to visit almost 400 traps—a 25,000 km, 10-month journey from London, eastward through the Channel, across Europe and the Western wilderness, down through Alaska, across Canada and on to the United Nations in New York City. The road-trippers, sponsored by Ford automobiles and endorsed by the United Nations, aimed to highlight environmental issues and promote international co-operation—hence a crew that included a British TV executive, a Renaissance general, an Israeli scientist, a Palestinian



MacDonald: 'on awful and horrible thing'

scientist and Canadian avian explorer Jeff Macdonald. A former curator at the Canadian national museum, Macdonald, 52, was shot, in 1986, the first in a series of Northwest Passage expeditions. On this latest journey, the only unscheduled obstacle was the Bering Strait. The team tried several times to make the 60-km crossing from Russia to Alaska aboard an amphibious vehicle, but they were hampered by drifting ice. "It looks like an ice-chilled hell," says Macdonald. "It's as cold as hell and holding things." Eventually the team had to return to shore and fly over to Alaska, but Macdonald says that it was just a small setback to a long, gruelling journey—and that he returned home to Toronto with a new commitment to environmental action and world peace. "It was so sad when we heard that Palestinians and Israelis are shooting each other off," says Macdonald. "We had this guy from Israel/India/Palestine/Italy shooting rats by side. When you are sitting with a few people in a small airplane like this you wonder why it can't happen in the world in general." Indeed,



Fay (left), stepfather Marco Chén scores

WORD FOR WORD Spare the rod

Singapore's remarkably authoritarian is partly the result of its draconian outdoor smokers introduced by former prime minister Lee Kuan Yew. They include severe fines, even jail terms for such infractions as sitting in public and cleaning glass. On March 2, a Singaporean court sentenced American Michael Fay, 18, to 40 strokes with a rattan cane, four months in jail and a fine of \$67,500. His offence: smoking 18 cigarettes. The censure, which is administered by a martial arts expert, former policeman, and critics often label draconian. As Fay's lawyers last week prepared for his final ap-

peal to President Ong Teng Cheong, the country's practices became the subject of a fierce international debate. Excerpt.

"We've just stuck with the simple raton cane and a big smack on the buttocks. It's not brutal, but it's not gentle. It does what it's supposed to do, to remind the wrongdoer that he should never do it again, and it does work."

—Lee Kuan Yew, now senior minister in the Singapore government

"He said he didn't want to plead guilty to something he didn't do. I told him into it."

"I said, 'I've just got you out of there with the minimum possible hassle'." So he agreed, and it was that happened."

—Gloria Chan, wife of Singaporean George Fay, describing him for his son's trial

"The United States does not restrain or punish the individual, beginning from the moment they're doing. That's why the whole country is in chaos—drugs, violence, unemployment and homelessness are social problems in its society... If you like, I will say that it is your problem that that is not the path we choose."

—Lee in a Singapore TV interview

"A case like Michael Fay's is important because it provides a chance to challenge an innovative practice that ought not to exist anywhere. Former president [George] Bush can lend the effort by using his speech at a G8 summit in Thursday to call for consistency for Michael Fay."

—an April 13 New York Times editorial

"They hate. It's a private cause. No other view."

—George Bush in Singapore on April 14

BEST-SELLERS

FICTION

1. *Like Father, Like Son*, Douglas Coupland \$9
2. *40° in the Shade*, Sue Coe \$9
3. *The Bone Shivers*, Carol Smith \$9
4. *The Beloved of Madame Courcy*, Robert Butler \$9
5. *The Glistening Prophecy*, John McEldowney \$9
6. *The Wishing House*, J. Anne Powell \$9
7. *The Day after Tomorrow*, John Dehn \$9
8. *On Dangerous Ground*, David Hughes \$9
9. *The Maltese Staircase*, A. S. Best \$9
10. *Delusions of Grandeur*, Gail Fiala \$9

NON-FICTION

1. *West Africa Today*, Stationery Corp \$9
2. *Wild at Heart*, Brown Books \$9
3. *How to Live*, Simon & Schuster \$9
4. *The Perfection of the Whipping*, Simon Books \$9
5. *On the Beach*, Simon Books \$9
6. *Women Who Run with the Wolves*, Simon Books \$9
7. *How to Live*, Simon & Schuster \$9
8. *The Perfection of the Whipping*, Simon Books \$9
9. *On the Beach*, Simon Books \$9
10. *Women Who Run with the Wolves*, Simon Books \$9
11. *How to Live*, Simon & Schuster \$9
12. *The Perfection of the Whipping*, Simon Books \$9
13. *On the Beach*, Simon Books \$9
14. *Women Who Run with the Wolves*, Simon Books \$9
15. *How to Live*, Simon & Schuster \$9
16. *The Perfection of the Whipping*, Simon Books \$9
17. *On the Beach*, Simon Books \$9
18. *Women Who Run with the Wolves*, Simon Books \$9
19. *How to Live*, Simon & Schuster \$9
20. *The Perfection of the Whipping*, Simon Books \$9

Compiled by Steve Brinkley



Profounds area of Alberta's Dinosaur Provincial Park: 'a black market'

Invasion of the dino-rustlers

Some people want to collect the most precious things. In addition to sports cars and huge diamonds for boys and Tahiti, last year's Stephen Beuchler Woodhouse Jurassic Park was apparently whetted the appetite for real dinosaur bones and fossils—a trend that has paleontologists worried. Last week, British police were busy investigating the theft of a 120-million-year-old dinosaur footprint on the Isle of Wight—one of a series of recent thefts of dinosaur remains. Robbers, working at night, used a crane to lift one of three footprints left by a 30-foot long dinosaur on a southern stretch of coastline. While there have been few similar thefts in Canada, paleontologists are on the look-out. "We suspect that there's quite a black

market in this country," says Judy Neuman, manager of collections at Royal Tyrrell Museum of Paleontology in Drumheller, Alta., Canada's dinosaur mecca. Would-be dino-rustlers are advised to watch for any scanner shops or brushier and showrooms, which will house under steel-protected ripsheds. And, Neuman adds, "We have plans to check on some of these places to make sure that they are following the rules." In Ottawa, Kevin Shepherd, collections manager of the northwestern section of the Canadian Museum of Nature, agrees that fossil theft is uncommon. "But it's a warzone thing," he says. "I leave work at night and I think, 'I have a collection worth more than \$200-million.'"



Hairy politics

for the Northern Ad Adjustment and Recovery Program. "We're not doing us, but this program is good." Then again, it's hardly a cut-and-dried story.

PASSAGES

DIED: Colin Thatcher's funeral 600 in response his death—under circumstances, by federal justice Minister Allan Rock. In one of the country's most sensational murder cases, Thatcher, 55, was captured of killing his co-wife—with it's where he had been involved in a heavy divorce and on-going custody battle—and sentenced to life imprisonment in 1984. The former playboy Saskatchewan cabinet minister and son of former premier Ross Thatcher has stood firmly maintained his innocence, but Rock found that "under the pressures on the alleged 'new evidence' lead eventually to the conclusion that a second killing was likely occurred." Thatcher is in an Edmonton prison with no eligibility for parole until 2000.

DIED: Britain's former Olympic figure-skating champion John Curry, 44, whose signature skating style was a blend of skating and ballet. Born in 1940, he won the world title in 1976 for several years, in his home town of London. Curry used a skating combination of artistry and acrobatics to win the gold medal at the 1978 Winter Games in Innsbruck, Austria.

MARRIED: Double Olympic gold medal winner Mylene Boudard, 34, and fellow biathlete Cpl. Jean Payette, 29, on a beach on the Hawaiian island of Maui. Boudard came first in the 7.5 km and 15 km events at February's Lillehammer Games.

SEPARATED: Supermodel Christie Brinkley, 41, and singer-songwriter Billy Joel, 41. In a joint statement, the couple, married in 1983, said they have been living apart since last November. They have an eight-year-old daughter.

REVEALED: The arrest of rock star Courtney Love for possession of heroin and other property a day before the discovery of her husband Kurt Cobain's body on April 8, by Los Angeles police. Love was charged for her role in Cobain's death, which police say was a drug overdose. Love denies taking any drugs. Meanwhile in Seattle, a smacked ex-cousin and Cobain, the lead singer for the popular grunge-rock band Nirvana, killed himself three days before an electronic head of the body.

FINED: Environmentalist Paul Watson, 42, \$25,000 for shipping violators during an attempt to disrupt humpback whale whaling in provincial court in St. John's, Nfld. Watson, a native of Vancouver, sailed with two dozen supporters to the Grand Banks to protest overfishing by longliners.

TAKING AIM ON GUNS

A rash of brutal murders sparks calls for more controls on firearms

Reven Hudson is in a hurry. For the past two weeks, the 27-year-old Toronto undertaker has been scrambling to acquire handguns for him and his wife. He has been in and out of police stations numerous times, and has had his past investigated for criminal activity. His record is clean, but Hudson believes that he is in a race against a groundswell of public outrage over the brutal killing of three Ontario residents over the past month. Thousands of people attended three funerals and more than 12,000 signed petitions asking Ontario to drastically curtail gun ownership in Canada. Politicians, scrambling to catch up with public opinion, urged tough action. Justice Minister Allan Rock even suggested banning gun advertisements in major cities. If that happens, Hudson and thousands of law-abiding gun owners will suffer. "The criminals seem to have all the rights," said Hudson, who wants the guns for target practice. "I hope I can get mine before they ban them."

The public outcry over guns has grown steadily since the murders. On March 27, Nicholas Lemerle, a 25-year-old Englishman, died in a random drive-by shooting in Ottawa as he walked along a downtown street. Three days later, 35-year-old McMaster University student, Juan Hernandez, was gunned down in his campus apartment. Her former boyfriend, Raul Foreman, surrendered to police in Colorado last week and is being returned to Canada to face murder charges. Then, on April 5, 23-year-old Georges Lemieux was killed with a sawed-off shotgun during a robbery in an upscale Toronto club called Jax Decretia. Last week, Lawrence Augustus Brown, 26, of Toronto, turned himself into police and was later charged with first-degree murder. And Joe Marc Lapina's shooting of 14 women at the



● **Laborious open market funeral services:** Brown (left) guns seized from smugglers in Niagara Falls, Ont. (below) 'no easy gun control in, but prices are coming down'

École Polytechnique in Montreal in 1989, the three murders may spark another round of tough gun control legislation.

Conservative government passed Bill C17 in 1991, which among other things forced handgun owners to store their weapons in locked boxes and store their ammunition separately. Now, more gun-control advocates want to go even farther. Remy Woolley, who manages a Toronto pharmacy, was so upset by the killing that he has cancelled a petition demanding that the federal government ban all guns in Toronto. More than 10,000 people signed. "I haven't had one complaint," said Woolley. "People don't see any reason to have guns in Toronto."

Some provincial and municipal politicians proposed their own solutions. Ontario Conservative Leader Mike Harris told the Ontario legislature last week that people should receive only six other rounds for turning their guns over to police—six is close to what American jurisdictions do. The next day, Deputy Liberal leader Jean Charest stood in the provincial legislature, vowed a box of 50 brass bullets in the air and called on the government to limit the sale of ammunition to legal gun



owners with hunting licenses. Not to be outdone, Metro Toronto Councillor Norma Gardner turned a rifle he owned over to police as part of a bid to get people to turn in their guns. "People are saying, 'You the bullet?'" said Gardner. "They want politicians to do something about it."

But all the proposals to further restrict legal gun ownership may do little to curb violent crime. In fact, the results of a recent undercover investigation in Ontario indicate that smuggled guns, not those legally owned in Canada, are responsible for many of the violent incidents that alarm Canadians. Geoff Frensch, an undercover police officer with the Criminal Intelligence Service of Ontario, who took part in Operation Gun Runner in 1993, said that 986 of 150 handguns seized over a nine-month period by police in southern Ontario had been smuggled into Canada. "The majority are coming from the United States," said Frensch. "I have no doubt about that."

Frensch and other smugglers targeted Canada because of simple economics: a handgun that sells for \$150 in Detroit can be resold for more than \$200 in Canada. He said the guns are being smuggled across in cars, boats and trains. But by far the most popular firearms are rapid-fire semiautomatic weapons. Once in Canada, Frensch said, the guns are quickly sold through networks of criminals. Intelligence Service Det. Insp. Barry Hill said the flow of weapons across the border has grown in the past several decades, have been forced to cut their prices in Canada to attract customers. "There are so many guns coming in," said Hill, "that prices are actually coming down."

And statistically, at least, criminologists say that any restriction in Canada's gun laws does not appear to be halting a wave of violent crime. In fact, Canada's murder rate, which stood at 2.7 per 100,000 people in 1980, has remained virtually unchanged over the past 10 years. As well, according to Statistics Canada, the use of guns in robberies has declined from 42 per cent of all robberies in 1975 to 26 per cent in 1992. But Pagan, an associate professor in the School of Criminology at Toronto's Simon Fraser University, believes Canadians may be demanding tough gun-control measures because they are overly influenced by heavy media coverage of lawlessness in the United States, where the rate of violent crimes is 10 times higher than in Canada. "People have a distorted view about how much violent crime we have in this country."

At the same time, critics representing legal gun owners say they are being used to incite politicians desperate to appease public opinion. David Tomlinson, president of the Edmonton-based National Firearms Association, said the government will not solve the problem of violent crime by taking away a person's right to own a gun. Any criminal who really wants a gun, he said, can easily buy one from an underground "gun dealer." "The only people the government can disarm are the victims," said Tomlinson. "And that will only encourage more violence because only criminals will have guns."

And police in Canada's major cities say that they are seeing an alarming number of handguns on the streets. Did those guns are being used the hands of criminals is a matter of heated debate. In 1993, Ontario officials said Canada seized 3,228 illegal weapons at the border, of which 1,818 were primarily handguns. In comparison, in 1992, 1,777 weapons were confiscated, of which 1,565 were mostly handguns. John Johnston, district manager for Remco Canada (Canada's Niagara Falls, Ont., store that was an evidence to suggest that the weapons are linked to organized gun smuggling, Toronto, he said, the

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What Matters to Canadians.

CANADA

most majority of guns are taken from U.S. truck drivers and tourists who spend more days at the border and in carry their guns into Canada. Added Windsor Police Staff Sgt. Lloyd Grahame: "They think they can sneak the guns across, and then they get caught."

The police in many other cities, including Metro Toronto, say that gun smuggling into Canada has reached epidemic levels. The most popular weapons are, chiefly, small 380 calibre handguns. Largely manufactured by Bryon Industries in Irvine, Calif., the small guns, which resemble for about \$300 in the U.S., are just 5.5 inches long and weigh only 16 oz. Det. Paul Mullin, who works in the Metro Toronto law enforcement region, says the guns sell for about \$500 on the city's streets. Small Mullin: "Why sell drugs when you can make money selling guns?"

The extent of the gun smuggling into Canada became apparent in March, 1993, when Stephen Gooding and David Gill, both of Toronto, were arrested and eventually pleaded guilty to numerous weapons charges. The two men, who were sentenced to two years in prison, told police that they had smuggled nearly 300 of the small guns into Toronto. It wasn't hard. The two men met their supplier in Detroit and then stuffed the guns behind the back seat of their car for the return trip home. Many of the guns were sold to young drug dealers. "It gives them status on the streets," said Mullin.

Just as disturbing, say police, is the fact that many legitimate guns, which are often never used by their owners, are being stolen and used in crimes. There are more than one million registered guns in Canada, and to prove his point that some are being used by criminals, Mullin produced a shotgun with the barrel and stock cut back to create a smaller illegal weapon similar to the one that killed Kenneth "Red" Miller. "Just look what happened in the West Denver case."

For Canada's reckless justice minister, resolving a parliamentary consensus on gun control will not be easy. The Liberal caucus is divided along urban and rural lines. Thunder Bay/Superior MP Joe Compton, who opposes any gun control measures that would further restrict guns, said that drafting new gun legislation that will satisfy every part of the country, including areas where hunting is popular, will be extremely difficult. But his fellow Liberal MP Shamus Horne, who represents Windsor/St. Clair, said that he was "deeply concerned" that handgun exist for the purpose of killing other people. "They have no other legitimate purpose."

The main opposition parties are also at odds. Bloc Quebecois justice critic Pierre

Venne said Quebecers have supported calls for tougher gun-control measures ever since the Quebec Polytechnique massacre. But Reform party MP Bob Mills of Red Deer, Alta., counters that people living in rural areas should not be punished for urban crime. "The gun in downtown Toronto can't understand why anyone would ever need a gun," said Mills. "But the gun in Red Deer thinks you're taking away one of his freedoms."

Rack, who represents the Toronto riding of Etobicoke Centre, makes no secret of his personal distaste for firearms—although he has



Rack: a personal distaste for firearms

not yet explained exactly how the government might banish them from urban centres. "I came to Ottawa with the firm belief that the only people in this country who should have guns are police officers and soldiers," he told reporters last week. But, foreshadowing some of the compromise and bargaining that may be ahead, Rack quickly added that never coming to Ottawa, he has encountered people from other parts of the country who hold sharply different points of view, including those who argue that farmers need firearms to control pests and that aboriginals need them to hunt. Above all, he said, he wants to ensure that Canada does not fall into the American trap, "where people believe that they have to acquire a weapon for protection of themselves." On that, at least, all sides can agree.

YONI FINNELL with ROBEN GARGATE in Ottawa



IT TAKES MORE THAN A HOCKEY BROADCAST TO REACH SOME KIDS.

For the kids on the Reskin Reserve, it took a little human contact. □ The kind Ted Nolan, former Rankin resident and winning coach of the Saati Greyhounds, brought to a boy struggling to perfect a wrist shot. □ And the special knack for instilling confidence displayed by broadcaster and ex-NHL coach Gary Green. And in renowned power-sliding instructor Marianne Wotkin's magical ability to correct a bad stride. □ For fifty-six boys and girls facing the onset of another north shore winter, we couldn't think of a better way to reach them than through TSN's community hockey clinic program. □ And at the end of the day, about the only thing open to debate was the question of who got more out of it—them or us.



Innovative Use of the Media
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1994



Learning tough political lessons

Manning's worst week underlines divisions

It was undoubtedly Preston Manning's worst week since he and 11 other Reform party MPs arrived in Ottawa five months ago. It began with the Reform leader squaring into a phalanx of television lights in the foyer of the House of Commons to face off questions about an internal party spat over a \$81,000 annual expense account provided by the party for senior other things, the purchase and leasing of Manning's clothes. Next came a marathon private caucus session in which Reformers thrived on the way that the party's executive—with Manning's blessing—had publicly blamed Calgary West MP Stephen Harper for during to criticize Manning's leadership. Then for the rest of the week, the Reform leader had to endure party press in the Commons, including one from Prime Minister Jean Chrétien who responded to a Manning question on the government's economic direction by saying macho-style that, "We're not about to change notes every day." For Manning, who came to Ottawa wearing in being a new era of principled debate in Parliament, the hubbub over his leadership was an uncomfortable byproduct. Lamented Manning to an interview with *Northern*: "Our

main reason for being here gets completely wiped out by this type of stuff."

The internal dispute over Manning's expenses is just one of the challenges facing the party as it comes to terms with Ottawa's peculiar political culture. Reform's lackluster performance in the daily question period as well as significant gains in several major policy areas have left the party playing a frustrated second fiddle to the Bloc Québécois in the House of Commons. As well, plans to expand into Quebec and to win the party's support among voters has many members concerned that the result will be a watering down of some existing policies. Some worry that Reform, founded seven years ago as a voice of Western discontent, has lost that focus in its eagerness to gain national support.

These are not the only areas where some of the party's most



Harper, chastised by the party brass

fundamental beliefs are under attack. The issue with which the party's Calgary-based executive chastised Harper for his suggestion that Manning should provide weekly for his expense account seemed simple to all with a party that operates itself on the most open—and easily recognizable—on the federal scene. Such open-ended restrictions are something for an political party. They are also inevitable. Bob Manning told *Northern*: "We are growing."

So far that matter, in the 10-member floor caucus room, most of whom are also new to Ottawa. But observers agree that Bloc tries have been far more aggressive—and effective—partisan in the House. Reform has been true to its pledge to bring draconian back to parliamentary proceedings after years of highly partisan political behavior. Their attitude in the federal government has been less than that of the Bloc's. But they also have been less than that of the Bloc's. But they also have been less than that of the Bloc's. But they also have been less than that of the Bloc's.

In fact, Reform has made several moves lately to address such shortcomings. Last week, the party hired Jack Stathel—once a senior adviser to former Tory House leader Pierre Trudeau—to help MPs improve their performance in question period. Also, a Queens University academic, David Ross, has been brought on board as the party's new research director to help the party better exploit the parliamentary resources available to them. Still,

Manning on the House of Commons, internal dissent and partisan glee

the party's lack of clear policy in such areas as foreign policy and telecommunications has left it vulnerable. But not all Reformers are of that mind. At the same time, some of the party's most vocal critics will be let to the left and right, and that movement should be patient and learn to walk before run. By making tiny incremental policies until they have a better grasp of the issues facing work in the House and in campaign. Stathel says: "We're a party in a do-it."

Having won 46 of the 58 seats in Alberta and British Columbia in last October's election, Reform's caucus is once again being discussed by commentators. The party is now looking seriously at ways to improve its national appeal, including the difficult challenge of trying to expand into Quebec. Chris Coadou, a Moncton-based former aide to Tory cabinet minister Pierre Blais, was hired earlier this month as Reform's Quebec spokesman. Manning regards skepticism that some of the changes, aimed at attracting women and ethnic voters, will dilute party policy on such issues as immigration and the constitution, arguing that this did not happen after party members agreed to run candidates in

Ontario and Atlantic Canada in the last election. Said Manning: "This was the story when we entered out of the West—that we were going to compromise everything to get into Ontario. And we didn't."

But according to Tim Flanagan, a University of Calgary political scientist and the Reform party's director of research until 1992, a recent internal party survey showed little enthusiasm for the changes among the party's 300,000 members. Manning downplays those findings, suggesting that members are simply weary after waging guerrilla campaigns in the 1992 constitutional referendum and last year's federal election. Adds Manning: "I think the hard core of our membership is determined to build a national party and their goal is to form a national government before the end of the century. We have no choice."

If that effort is to succeed, Manning and his party must mold such outbursts as the Quebecers' attack on the leader's expense account and the recent letter-bombing that followed. In part, the bad publicity was a reaction to the sophisticated manner Manning adopted last December—when he staged

a photo opportunity on Parliament Hill in order to publicly return keys to the government at the time he was invited to be a party leader. To some, that belief that such an attitude is reminiscent of the New Democratic Party, which has often portrayed itself as a party out of control, "they could get intimidated as an NDP of the right." Manning scoffs at comparisons between Reform and the NDP, declaring: "The way we avoid their dilemma is to obey the cardinal principle of representing where the public's interest is."

On the other hand, it was strategic by the previous Conservative government to spend the last few years in a series of decisions that, by his own account, led the 34-year-old Harper to abandon that party. Harper began his active political life as an aide to former Tory MP Jim Harkin in the mid-1980s, but left the party and joined Reform at its founding convention in 1989. Since then, he has become arguably Reform's most articulate spokesman after Manning.

And many consider, a potential successor as leader. The first indication of tension between Harper and Manning came after the announcement of the Charlottetown Accord in August, 1992. Harper came out strongly against the accord, a key two weeks before Reform made its opposition to the agreement public. Some Reformers say that action forced Manning's hand—and that Harper has been regarded with suspicion by the party leadership ever since.

For the time being, however, both Manning and Harper say they want to put any personal differences behind them—and get on with the larger issues at hand. Asked last week if anything about his first months in Ottawa came as a surprise, the Reform leader remarked to one of the *Northern* writers: "One thing," he said, "I don't think the Hill has the biggest notion how deep the financial difficulty that the country is in. I knew there was a considerable shift in this, but it does surprise me that it is as convoluted as it is." For Manning, at least, the main challenge facing Reform is the same as it has always been: to change Ottawa before Ottawa changes them.

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CANADA

Doing it right

In October, 2001, the United States Supreme Court confirmed a landmark decision that eventually cleared the way for Clarence Thomas's ascension to the American Supreme Court. The American Supreme Court drew a bigger television audience than the World Series. The attraction was allegations of sexual harassment against Thomas and the subsequent mudslinging between him and his accuser, Anita Hill. There were no long-term results. Thomas was confirmed despite the charges, and some of the mud stuck to all the people and institutions involved, including the Senate and the Supreme Court.

Soon, Canadians will again view the American version of legal democracy at work, after President Bill Clinton nominated a successor to Justice Harry Blackmun, who announced his retirement on April 6. The confirmation hearings promise, in Hobbesian terms, to be noisy, brutal, but by no means short. The scrambling for votes on the Senate committee should make for great drama, but, as our own Supreme Court plays an increasingly crucial role in our lives because of the 1982 Charter of Rights and Freedoms, we should consider ourselves on having a system that is as noisy, more amiable, if less spectacular.

Canada's process for appointing Supreme Court judges relies heavily on the advice of peers in the legal profession, reflect the political parties, to producing appointments. Although the Prime Minister ultimately makes all Supreme Court appointments, that comes at the end of a process involving consultation with the justice minister, the Canadian Bar Association, law societies, the federal justice department and the provincial governments. The result is that appointees' selections are based on their political ability and respect earned from their peers rather than on their personal opinions.

Contrast that with the United States where senators use confirmation hearings to encourage through the nominees' positions on such topics as abortion and



BACKSTAGE OTTAWA

BY ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH

the death penalty to see if they agree with their own. This, however, U.S. Chief Justice William Rehnquist in 1986, "somebody who has been totally from for 50 years and not had much in the way of thought about anything could be easily confused."

Nonetheless, there is a push in some circles—especially within the British party—to adopt something like the American system. That would mean that appointments would require approval in Parliament and the Senate. The interest that the American hearings will arouse will probably contribute to that push. At least, many Canadians know more about the American justice system than one year.

Thankfully, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien and Justice Minister Allan Rock are not building the Supreme Court selection process. Rock said in a recent interview, "has resulted in a string of outstanding choices, so why change it substantially?" In fact, the real problem with Supreme Court appointments sometimes lies in persuading the first draft choice to accept. The pay—\$183,000 a year—is far less than a top lawyer earns. As well, the hours are grueling and the social life clustered. One Supreme Court judge who resigned suddenly in the mid-1980s and returned to Montreal told friends he did so because "I only received two phone calls a day—from my wife and the chief justice—and I never wanted to talk to either of them."

At all levels of the judiciary, the problem is not so much the way that judges are chosen as it is the growing range of demands they face. For now, Rock is concentrating on encouraging such measures as voluntary programs to better acquaint judges with the voices of lonely widows, child abuse victims and other ethnic minorities. He is right to do so. Faced with complex issues in an increasingly diverse society, the more to aid how judges are chosen: it is how the chosen judge



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CANADA

The Paramount connection

Paul Martin's dealings with the U.S. giant raise questions

BY MARCI McDONALD

I have grappled with all the intrigue of a Hollywood whodunit—complex web of shadowy secret agreements and bitter accusations of betrayal of national honor and identity. But as plots go, the tangled, two-month-old tale of why the federal government agreed to sell back a Toronto bookshop firm, *Grant Publishing Canada Inc.*, to its former American parent, powerful media conglomerate Paramount Communications Inc., has left more questions than happy endings. Chief among them: why did the Liberals feel obliged to honor a secret and highly-kept agreement that Heritage Minister Mitchell Dupuy claims their former Conservative foes had made with New York City-based Paramount?

To Canadian publishers, who protested that they were shut out of the \$32.5-million sale, that obligation seemed all the more perplexing since the government had shown no such compunction about snapping up writer Terry O'neill's first of a fleet of defense bill copiers or upgrading Toronto's Pearson International Airport. And over recent weeks, critics have queried the government's refusal to hold a public inquiry into the case, which they say shows a reluctance to change in a 25-year-old policy of protecting cultural industries from foreign investors. They say have questioned Heritage committee chairman John Godfrey's explanation (and such an exercise would "amount to Ptolemy's old map") in fact, Macdonald has learned that some powerful Liberals—including Finance Minister Paul



Martin—have ongoing business ties with Paramount.

Martin's department is responsible for the Canada Development Investment Corp. (CDIC) the Crown corporation that has held the controlling interest in Grant for the past four years—and which negotiated its resale to minority shareholder Paramount on Feb. 18. In Martin's official financial disclosure statements, the finance minister revealed that, through his private Alberta holding

Martin, Vancouver-based *Dunbar*—estimated personal wealth of \$20 million

company, *McMillan Ltd.*, he owns three prime Vancouver movie houses—the *Dunbar*, the *Varney* and the *Plaza*—which he leases directly to *Famous Players Inc.*, a wholly owned Canadian subsidiary of Paramount Communications.

Martin's press attaché, Nathalie Gauthier, told *Macdonald's* last week that he "did not take part in the decision-making process" before the Grant sale. She said he left the responsibility to Douglas Peters, secretary of state for international financial institutions, who reports to him. But Bill Mulroney, spokesman for

Hereditary Minister John Mulroney, said Martin participated in a meeting over the Grant deal between Mulroney and Dupuy. According to Howard Wilson, deputy assistant register general in charge of administering the conflict-of-interest code—which called Mulroney on Sunday at Martin's request—if the

Finance minister did discuss the Grant case, "it would have been perfectly proper for him to do so. It's a long-standing relationship with *Famous Players*, not an association relationship." Martin's office did not respond to a written request to detail questions about his company's dealings with Paramount.

Martin is not the only Liberal with ties to Paramount. On March 15, less than a month after the Grant deal was announced—but at the height of the bitter Ontario debate—Paramount's New York headquarters hired as its newest Ontario lobbyist Thomas Chassanis, a former Halifax lawyer and longtime Chrétien supporter Chassanis's wife, Heather, now works as the Prime Minister's liaison in the office of Deputy Prime Minister Sheila Copps. She ran Chretien's 1993 leadership campaign in Nova Scotia, and the publisher of one of the Chassanis' three siblings in *Globe and Mail* long, Chretien's former adviser.

The 10-year liaison between Martin's company and *Famous Players* began on Jan. 31, 1988—four months before Martin entered politics by winning the Liberal nomination in Mulroney's working-class riding of LaSalle-Étard. And they did not expire for another four years. Although their rents vary, some people associated with the properties, as well as a knowledgeable Vancouver real estate broker, estimate that an undisclosed Mulroney collection as annual average of \$700,000 to \$180,000 per theatre—or at least \$200,000 a year from *Famous Players*.

On top of that, all three leases have

element by which the landlord gets a reported additional 30 per cent of each unit's revenue above the rent paid at a reported fixed 30 per cent. These revenue is notoriously difficult to estimate. But according to a former owner of the premises, the 19-year lease could bring a landlord an estimated \$100,000 more each year for every month above the rent paid. John Scher, who is in charge of Famous Players Inc.'s company's Toronto head office, said that none of Martin's three Vancouver divisions makes enough money to trigger any royalties from the landlord's clause.

There are other sides to all the stories. The Varsity and the Plaza, independent operators, both in such cases. Famous Players remains the primary company dealing with Martin's Nefertiti. Still, when Khoury David, one of a group of projectors who now own the Plaza was negotiating his lease-year advance with the chain last November just after the election, he discovered that his ultimate landlord would be the country's newly appointed premier minister. "I was sort of surprised," he said in fact, apparently in satisfaction of the conflict only for minutes, Martin—through Famous Players—asked for a letter declaring that the tenants had no outstanding loans, grants or debts with the federal government.

Certainly, whatever Martin's income from the theatres, it is a lot of a drop in the bucket to a man whose personal wealth is estimated at \$10 million, and whose corporate holdings, owned as he is, 10 per cent of control of giant Canada Steamship Lines Inc., in control that. Recently the richest son of Canada's cabinet, he has been surprised in declining his own financial and business career, going well beyond federal cabinet interest group projects to lead a wide range of company funds and real estate venture, in a 30-page response to his declaration. To coincide with the guidelines, Martin showed off his Canada Steamship and other transport assets—held through his private Pacific Holdings Inc.—under a final management agreement beyond his control, but by Canada Trust and Montreal lawyer Stuart Haydman. And he also declared that he would not just as a government director in a shipping shipbuilding. Via that, Vancouver's business or any of his other transportation interests.

Martin had no children to do the same with Nefertiti, and he took no similar steps to distance himself from his movie houses. He had no company with Famous Players and therefore with its controversial owner, Parliament, without the buffer of an semi-trust administration.

Over the last months that Martin was preparing to file his voluminous financial declaration, Parliament Communications

was engaged in the final phases of its five-year struggle to regain control of Toronto publisher GEM from the chain, which left under his own portfolio. And the media conglomerate was also seeking negotiations to buy Montreal's Maclean's, a subsidiary left from the wreckage of former British media tycoon Robert Maxwell's global publishing web—under his which required the approval of Investment Canada.

Now it is likely that Martin was aware of either deal. The chairman of Maxwell's Maclean's Canada was a prominent fellow Quebec Liberal, André Besson, who sits on the board of Power Financial Corp. with André Desautels, Christie's son-in-law. And Power Financial is part of the complex empire of Montreal-based Power Corp.



Paramount Stadium in Los Angeles: the deterioration of U.S. cultural conglomerates

where Martin spent his entire business career before buying out its Canada Steamship Lines subsidiary in 1984.

Indeed, on Feb. 14, a week before the Liberal government announced both sales, the president of the Association of Canadian Publishers, Karl Segler of Talon Books in British Columbia, wrote Christie expressing concern at reported rumors of a deal over GEM—and sent a copy of this letter to Martin. Then, according to Martin, after the Liberal caucus meeting on Feb. 15, Martin sat in on a meeting over the GEM sale between Mulroney and Dupes, the two ministers who issued a joint press release announcing the sale with his department two days later. That that statement was quoted in the Fraser magazine's name, but that Martin, who reports to Martin, was quoted on his behalf acknowledging that the government had a better understanding "legal obligation" to return GEM to Parliament.

The three divisions have been in Martin's family since 1957, when they were acquired by his father, the late Paul Martin Sr., a for-

mer member of the government of Mackenzie King and Lester Pearson. Martin Sr. was a lifelong friend of Paul Robeson, the exclusive collaborator later in the Famous Players and Odette features known as the Howard Hughes of Canada. Martin joined the theatres in Odette through a private family holding company named Nefertiti, after himself and his wife, Jeanne, bought in 1962, he appears to have transferred them to a new unregistered Alberta company of the same name. His directors were his son and his former Windsor, Ont., law partner William A. Greig, whose daughter Sheila is married to Paul Martin Jr. Today, Martin and his father-in-law remain joint shareholders in Nefertiti.

Parliament's later battle over the out-

HYDRO CONTROVERSY

Under an agreement in principle with Hydro Quebec, the bulk of northern Quebec could receive more than \$1 billion in compensation over 56 years in exchange for supplying the \$13.3-billion Great White Hydroelectric project. Hydro Quebec president Armand Cousine said the agreement showed that the project, which has been widely criticized by environmental groups, "can be completed in a manner acceptable to those most directly affected." But a spokesman for the Cree, who oppose the site of the proposed project, accused Hydro Quebec of trying to "undermine the process with noise."

SOMALIA VERDICTS

A court martial found Sgt. Percy Trevis not guilty of negligent performance of duty on the night his Somali teenager was beaten to death at a Canadian Air Force Regiment occupied near Beirut, Lebanon. Witnesses had testified that Trevis was sleeping at his post during the fatal beating in a separate court martial, Master Cpt. Anthony Smith placed duty to negligent performance of duty without to another incident in Somalia, Somalia, who received a four-month jail sentence, but accidentally discharged his firearm, resulting in the death of his friend, Cpt. Michael David Abel.

UNMOVED BY PROTEST

Nearly 10,000 Catholic school supporters rallied in Calgary, Edmonton, Lethbridge and Red Deer to protest a provincial bill that will strip local boards of the power to levy and collect taxes. Alberta Premier Ralph Klein later declared that the government will not change direction no matter how many efforts are made.

A RELUCTANT TAX CUT

Now Scotland's Liberal government reluctantly cut provincial tobacco taxes, reducing the cost of a carton of cigarettes from \$10.50 to \$9.50. Health Minister Ian Stewart said the province had little choice but to slash the price of cheap, light cigarettes after Quebec cut its taxes in February, followed by similar cuts in Ontario, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island.

FISHERMEN ON THE HOOK

A parliamentary committee looking into the collapse of the Atlantic fishery wanted that hundreds of Atlantic commercial could die if there is any cut in compensation payments to unemployed fishermen. Fisheries Minister Brian Tobin is expected to announce a five-year support program for Atlantic fishermen this week.

Canada NOTES Departure of a trailblazer

Although colleagues had been urging her to step in, New Democratic Party leader Audrey McLaughlin's heart was not to go in. Early this week, the 36-year-old McLaughlin planned to tell the party's executive that she would not be leading Canada's party of the left into another federal election. "Clearly, she didn't have the energy," one NDP insider told *Maclean's* last week.

McLaughlin's resigned departure poses an immediate problem for a party that is still licking its wounds after winning only one seat in last October's federal election. "The decision of a leader's role is the thing we need," said one longtime party activist. The colleagues added that McLaughlin understands that and may give the executive several options. The most likely scenario had her turning over the helm to someone without leadership experience—likely as 40—to act as interim leader.

Under former Conservative



McLaughlin's heart

leader Kim Campbell, who resigned under pressure after her party was reduced to a mere two seats, McLaughlin is apparently not being pushed. And after the party's dismal showing, no one was making it a secret her Deputy leader Nelson Bito and he was not interested. Burnaby, B.C. Sen. Robson said he has other pressing priorities, such as leading the fight for rights for the handicapped. Former Saskatchewan MP Larry Nyman, another possible candidate, would say only that he wants to keep his reform agenda.

McLaughlin has been leader since 1989, when the rookie 30-year-old former B.C. premier Dave Barrett for the post vacated by Ed Broadbent. As the first woman to lead a major federal party, the never was the respect accorded Broadbent and never demonstrated the easy political skills that Barrett possessed. But she did receive accolades in the knowledge that she has blazed a trail for other female politicians.

A new jobs plan

Human Resources Minister Lloyd Axworthy announced that the federal government will spend \$645 million this year on projects to train young people and to help them find jobs. The program includes a youth services corps that will enlist 2,500 young people in community projects nationwide. From a environmental cleanup to working with the disabled. As a membership program will involve another 8,500 young people in team projects with programs, with a plan to train a total of 20,000 over three years. As well, there will be 10 per cent to support summer jobs and off-hours student loans will be raised by up to 40 per cent, to \$5,600 a year. Axworthy said he will pay for the projects with money already set aside in his department by streamlining some inefficient programs and eliminating others to free up the money.

Opposition critics were quick to denounce the initiative. The Bloc Quebecois said the approach portions of the jobs plan are too much on provincial jurisdiction. Reform's Marlene Stangor said the service corps is a re-

vised version of older programs. "They didn't work well before, they won't work now," he said. Stangor added that the government is giving labor hopes to young people looking for meaningful work and that it should instead concentrate on reducing the federal deficit and encouraging the private sector to create new jobs for young people.

Taking it on the chin

Travellers may be on the hook for millions of dollars for the 1978 Airbus jet that was involved in a presidential-style jet for former prime minister Brian Mulroney. The government spent more than \$50 million to acquire the plane and outfit it with several amenities including a shower, entertainment unit and a dining room that seats eight. Pads on the side of the plane closed last week, with the government moving eight toddlers. And while federal officials said that they hope to get "fair market value" for the plane, American aviation industry expert Kim McCaigheon warned that the entire maintenance may make it tougher to sell, or cause the price to fall as low as \$50 million.

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From prisoner to president



Armed whites: Mandela at ANC rally in Cape province (top right); nothing is certain

Nelson Mandela is poised to lead a divided land crackling with psychosis

BY BRUCE WALLACE

Here comes the old man at last. Power at last. To the outside world, Nelson Rholihlahla Mandela is the Last Great Man, the moral crusader of his era, but in South Africa he is just "the old man"—spoken with affection. On this cloudy afternoon, the 75-year-old leader of the African National Congress (ANC) is still the candidate. And as he takes his campaign for the South African presidency into Orlando Stadium in Soweto, 15,000 people in victory stands, held back by high fencing and barbed wire, go crazy for their hero.

In Canada, there is a political adage that a party man be beside all running smooth meetings to prove that it is fit to run a country. If that is any measure, South Africa under the ANC will be a hell of a confusion. Mandela's security is awful. He wades into crowds punching his clenched fist into the air like the boxer he once was. Mayhem rules. Farcical but not unexciting bodyguards push photographers back. Insurgent people reach through the cordon to touch him, and anyone who tries hard enough can get close. It is a frightening sight at a time when a single assassin's bullet could plunge the country into catastrophe, and there are no number of armed forces eager to fill the role.

Mandela, who was released in 1990 after spending 27 years behind bars for his political beliefs, is not a speaking speaker. He loses the crowd's attention at times, although he draws cheers when he attacks outgoing President P. W. de Klerk's National Party as "a racist about to disappear into the darkness."

But he takes a tough line with his own supporters as well. He appeals for peace, and tells them that ANC members like their opponents, should use

their weapons to South Africa's security forces. "We have a duty to ensure that the police and army have legitimacy and credibility," he says.

Unfortunately, the message is lost on the dozens or so ANC supporters at the back of the stadium. Moments after Mandela wades out of the rally in a convoy of Mercedes and Infiniti, they fly out on foot, waving spears, lightning sticks and shovels. On the way back to their township houses and hovels, they even fire a few warning shots from homemade guns over the heads of the security forces, positioned along the route to discourage clashes between ANC and Inkatha supporters.

The jostling crowd, and Mandela also, fall. Over the marchers' chests and among them, the unmistakable gap of gunfire, and a chaotic-finding line swirls as they scream and scurry. Richard Durr, soldiers kneel in the dust, backs pressed against buildings, weapons pointed into the fleeing crowd. This is the South Africa the world has come to know: a combination between spears and guns, and an aftermath of blood in the dust. One poor black body, another devastated family.

Even so the case of black majority rule, South Africa remains violent, chaotic and overcast, at a growing sorrow. In the run-up to the April 26 to 28 election, the first in which blacks will be eligible to vote, men and women—mostly black—continue to die at a terrible pace, 352 in March alone. The campaign has sapped optimism from what is surely one of the seminal moments in modern history: the surrender of power by the white architects of apartheid to the blacks they oppressed for almost 200 years. But most South Africans now just want to get the election over with. It is as if so though the results are in doubt. Everyone agrees that the ANC will sweep to victory, and that Nelson Mandela, once the world's most famous





Apartheid is gone, but it has left lasting scars

COVER

political prisoners will be South Africa's next president.

Beyond that, nothing is certain. Some people believe the country is headed for civil war between an ANC-led government and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), the latter of which is one of the country's eight million Zulus, the largest tribe in South Africa, are demanding independence. Nor does anyone know whether hardline Afrikaners, descendants of Dutch settlers who have lived near the south end of Africa since the 17th century, are capable of doing the ANC into another race war. And all South Africans wonder whether the freed Mandela can keep a lid on the simmering tensions within the ANC while trying to meet the enormous expectations set to follow him as parent.

And there are vivid dreams of glory. The long-sought political revolution almost complete, South Africa's blacks are demanding a second, much quicker, economic revolution. Most of them live in poverty, forced by apartheid to be barely served when townships or rural areas limited. It is a time when hope has the heaviest cost of throwing off the white oppressor. "Liberation now, education later," was the cry of resistance. But a decade of international sanctions, strikes and school boycotts has produced a generation that is fluent in the language of protest, not compromise—politics, not acceptance. Throughout the campaign Mandela has asked these expectations, promising to build on what others in five years could do. It is a tall public works job over the next decade, and people 33 years of time and compulsory education for all children.

In attempting to keep these promises, Mandela can

draw on apartheid's other great legacy: South Africa's unperished racial aspects, its modern class, its apartheid constitution and its apartheid society. All of this is a nation in its attempt to build a new society. But to run the country—initially, at least—the new president will need the cooperation of whites, who dominate business, the civil service and the upper echelons of the police and army. Among whites there is still great distrust, skepticism and hostility. In their eyes, those taking power are a collection of former servants and cronies. Whites may soon politically correct placards about Mandela himself, but some remember that, until four years ago, the ANC was associated with shooting white farmers and blowing up "bush" supermarkets. Even worse, the ANC is allied with the South African Communist Party, many of whose officials are running the ANC's operations. Typically, whites wonder if Mandela will be forced to nationalize industries and grab their land. Or if "comrades" in the ANC, ideologically opposed to free markets, will seek of foreign investment and consider Africa's only economic success story into another Cuba.

On occasion, Mandela has tried to ease those fears with the state-servable disclaimer that snakes out from the fewest black election ballbats that show him surrounded by happy children of all skin colors. But he also has been in conceding this would make Margaret Thatcher or black. As a ruler in South Africa, he is accused of being President F. W. de Klerk of "continuing the racism of our people." The charge was prompted by revealing that, despite efforts of the South African security services had favored violence by killing ANC members

and among their opponents, including Inkathas. The fact that de Klerk is, at best, slow to curb those operations calls into question the ability of whites and blacks to trust each other in a new, multiracial government.

"By the time we start to loving, they will have turned to killing," Alex Hume, the white South African writer, warned a generation ago. Indeed, apartheid has left South Africa with a troubling legacy. The country's social groups have been kept separate for so long that, although they share a country, they do not share a vision of the future. And now that blacks are finally rising themselves of the white oppressor, Inkathas are making the party with its talk of war and socialism. White communities are based with paranoia, of what unexploited land and the best places to escape. South Africa must sleep tight, the page on April 25. It is reason denied, coming with psychoses, a racist place, especially for blacks. This is the harshest that Nelson Mandela will inherit, the scars that the world expects him to close.

The willingness of some of his own supporters to defy Mandela openly to simply the most visible sign of the unexpected sublimity among many ANC members. Some senior ANC leaders, such as secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, are accustomed to the world of polite civil service. But the ANC's early days had also included a number of refugees from death row—just like Robert McBride, who in the late 1980s placed a bomb in a Durban soccer bar that killed three people. Freed under a general amnesty in 1989, candidate McBride enjoys a strong following in the rougher districts of Soweto.

Standing on the grassy oval in Orlando Stadium, wearing a double-

breasted suit and riding a skateboard, the sleek, dark-skinned McBride looks more like a hip bobby than a coward. Only when pressed about his past does the calmness crack through. "There are still too many South Africans," he says, eyes narrowing. "To the white world, I am a demon. In the black world, I am a hero. I am not interested in what I did. I am only sorry for the millions of blacks lost because of whites."

McBride is not ANC candidate who serves whites. Walter Mandela is another. Two years ago, the former Mother of the Nation was in disgrace, newly separated from her husband and convicted of kidnapping in the living death, by her bodyguards, of 14-year-old Stompie Sepele at her Soweto home. But the courts set aside her jail sentence last year, and even accusations that she showed money from ANC coffers had not stood in the way of her political comeback. She is now president of the ANC Women's League, and certain to see a seat in parliament under a new system of proportional representation.

Whose Mandela's political life in the present, present, present, the townships. Places like Chatsworth Farm, a squatter's camp of thousands, serving drugs and making water as the signs of Soweto, where last year she walked to the aid of residents involved in an armed standstill with police. Whenever there is trouble in the most impoverished neighborhoods, Walter is quick to intervene, offering sympathy or help—often at police. She shows us. "She's popular because she cares about us," said Brian Pheko, 35, who lives in Chatsworth Farm. Playing up of mercy in the townships is a sure way for a woman who steps the comfort of expensive homes, cars and travel. But South Africa follows its own pace. "No other woman in South Africa has suffered like she has," McBride insists. "I am happy that she is not lost in a comfort."

The presence of women and key policies within the ANC has made a center for Nelson Mandela to make the delicate transformations from revolutionary to president. But the last so-called ANC will deliver into comfort to know Mandela by uncovering their opponents points to a crisis of authority. In the election's wake, large segments of the population may prove ungrateful. The ANC is an unlikely coalition, united under Mandela's spell but not by his words and actions. And the old man is 75.

The political road has been laid back on these historic elections to prepare to speak to the people in Church, the seat of government in the heart of the Zulu kingdom of KwaZulu. And Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthe will know how to stir their passions. The occasion is a national service for Inkatha victims at a March 28-church in Johannesburg's business district—a crowd that charged 100,000 and charged the street. Inkathas were also the favor of white South Africa. Speaker after speaker had praised the crowd of 2000 roaring Zulus with warnings that their national identity was in peril. "The part of the silence of the moment and the Government is to finish off the Zulu nation," warned one Inkatha minister. "Let us lay our lives down for our culture, our King, for who we are," pleaded an Inkatha youth leader. Buthe must make ready to catch such ecstatic language. The Zulu leader is the mourning crowd on the hillside outside KwaZulu's legislative building that he has received word from a white minister of "a special word that is expected to be said to all the King and people."

Buthe's gift the response he was seeking: angry shouts about the state of the country. The speaker of the day, Mangosuthu Buthe, is a member of the Inkatha youth and a former member of the Inkatha youth and a former member of the Inkatha youth and a former member of the Inkatha youth.



Checkmate from top left, Zulus with traditional weapons; President F. W. de Klerk; whites meet to discuss creation of an Afrikaans state; Zulu chief Buthe; the world expects Mandela to calm the storm



Model for South Africa?

It was a common refrain among nervous whites in the late 1980s in what was then Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe: "If the blacks take over everything hell is going to befall." Whether it was uttered in disgust or with an air of lofty resignation, the phrase encapsulated the white minority's fear and offered the ultimate justification for their resistance to black majority rule. But given the track record of newly independent countries in what had previously been colonial Africa, there was often more to the statement than race acceptance and racial bigotry. At the best, Tanzania, formerly Tanganyika and Zanzibar, was already a nation, its economy ravaged by a misapplied experiment with socialism and one-party rule. Zambia, then the northern part of the same federation in which Ian Smith's rebel Rhodesia had belonged, was rapidly following Tanzania's example as President Kenneth Kaunda implemented similar policies. What then were the arguments to the pubes and disingenuous of Rhodesia's racist white elite, could be expected from black-led governments in other African states except one of the same?

During the late 1970s, these comments appeared almost prescient, given the disastrous state of affairs in Angola and Mozambique. Both countries earned independence from Portugal in the mid-1970s—only to be overtaken by nightmarish war that was claimed the lives of tens of thousands of their citizens. By then, Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe Africa National Union was preparing to contest Rhodesia's first all-race elections. An voting day approached, the mood in the white community ranged from despondency to neurosis. Some 200,000 whites fled the country those who stayed believed they would be the last but feared the worst. Postcolonial Africa had become synonymous with economic destitution, political repression and racial violence.

Forty years later, however, most of those predictions of disaster in Zimbabwe have failed to materialize. There have been problems, deadly political violence, government corruption and mismanagement, and white anger over land redistribution, to name a few. But Zimbabwe remains a democratic and economic success story in southern Africa. A similar situation prevails in Namibia, the former South West Africa, which gained independence in 1990 after decades of rule by South Africa in defiance of the United Nations. Social conditions remain poor for the majority of Namibians, but race relations with the white minority are good and economic prospects are improving. "This was the unique achievement as a fully formed multiparty democracy with unimpeded international involvement," said Andre du Preez, a political scientist at the University of Stellenbosch. "In due, it has had the advantage over every other black continent state in Africa ever Zimbabwe."

Now, finally, it is South Africa's turn. And while many of the country's five million whites—out of a total population of 40 million—swore

that it is about to begin a rapid descent into anarchy, biasism and other experts say that their fears are misplaced. In contrast to Nigeria, Zambia and most other African countries, said David Welsh, a professor of southern African studies at the University of Cape Town, "South Africa has a highly developed economic and social structure." Despite the current unrest, he added, those factors make it unlikely that the country will fall victim to tribal animosities or racial revolutionary and, indeed, the comparison between Africa's early postcolonial experiences three decades ago and events more recently is not a simple one.



Rhodesians reborn, EN
Archbishop visits
Anglo war victims
(opposite) lessons
from the past

As the struggle for majority rule has spread southward through Africa (towards the Cape of Good Hope, each newly independent government has had an opportunity to learn from the mistakes of its predecessors. Despite the Marxist dogma of Mugabe's revolutionary governing party, Zimbabwe has not blindly replicated the socialist policies of its counterparts in Tanzania, Mozambique, Zambia or Angola. And in Namibia, President Sam Nujoma's ruling South West Africa People's Organization has adopted a conciliatory political line to appease black and free-market economic policies in its four years of rule—even though it springs from the same Marxist roots as the revolutionary governing parties in Angola and Mozambique.

The picture in South Africa is even more complex. According to recent polls, Nelson Mandela's African National Congress (ANC) enjoys the support of between 50 per cent and 65 per cent of the country's voters, and is therefore the most powerful single party. But the ANC is far from invincible. It encompasses a number of diverse factions, including the South African Communist Party. In addition, Mandela's



The ANC may succeed where others have failed

party faces significant opposition from President F. W. (Frederik) de Klerk's National Party and from a hardened core of more right-wing Afrikaners.

Beyond that, there are a number of inherent cultural and social differences between modern South Africa and its northern neighbors. South Africa, which has been independent for 50 years, is not a typical colony run by exploiters loyal to a distant European metropolis. Of the five million whites there are Afrikaners, descendants of Dutch settlers who have been living on the southern tip of the continent for almost 350 years. Far better or worse, they now Africa as their home, there is no distant home to which they can return.

The Afrikaners who developed the system of apartheid made sure that economic development was reserved firmly in favor of the white population, and themselves in particular. As a consequence, blacks have been largely disadvantaged. But the infrastructure they built is unparalleled in the rest of Africa, not to mention many other developing countries. "The big thing is that South Africa has the largest, most diverse and complex economy in the region. If not the entire continent," said Welsh at the University of Cape Town. "As such, it has the power to actually at least some of the negative demands of the disastrous lagged economic without dismantling the economy."

For all that to happen, however, the new government must retain the confidence of international investors, overcoming the "Apartheidism" that has become pervasive in the last decade. Mandela, for one, appears to understand this. He calls for the nationalization of gold mines and industrial conglomerates may play well among disenfranchised and poverty-stricken blacks, but they aren't with banking in the white business community. Two weeks before his release from prison in February 1990, Mandela issued a statement reiterating the ANC's commitment to massive state intervention in the economy, a program heavily influenced by the official policies of its longtime ally, the South African Communist Party. The Johannesburg stock exchange went into an immediate slump, and Mandela pushed to assure investors that the economic slope of post-apartheid South Africa would be negotiated with the private sector.

Contrast that with what has happened in Zimbabwe. There, despite a World Bank-inspired economic structural adjustment program and the moderate easing of exchange controls and other financial constraints, foreign investment is all but absent. The message is clear: no outsider is going to pour money into a country when the national leader is preaching socialist rhetoric for his constituents and grabbing productive farmland from whites merely to hand over to government officials in the Mugabe government has been doing.

There is less anxiety, and perhaps the most important, difference between South Africa and the rest of postcolonial Africa. Knowing that it would one day take power, the ANC's leadership have had four years—since de Klerk lifted the ban on black political organizations and released Mandela—to come to terms with the old and consider how they would govern the country. In other circumstances, many of the present and future ANC leaders, people who in all likelihood will soon hold national leadership positions, might well have gone into politics as a career. In South Africa, the best and brightest from the black community have been drawn by the struggle into politics. They are like the likes of not only Nelson Mandela but Cyril Ramaphosa and Thabo Mbeki writing in the wings.

Even the ancient adage and distrust of power-sharing negotiations among South Africa's blacks and whites have played a part in teaching everyone involved what it takes to run a fractious and complex society. Since last December, the Transitional Executive Council has been a sort of government-in-waiting, comprising 13 parties.

For all those reasons, rightly ruled South Africa does not appear destined to become another Africa's basket case. Like Senegal, Eritrea or Mozambique, if the new government manages to end the historical violence and put in place policies conducive to rapid growth and economic foreign investment, it has a far greater chance of ending South Korea, Thailand or Taiwan. After a long night of oppression, a new dawn of hope is peering over the horizon.

CHERRY KEARNS is in Cape Town

TESTING CLINTON

America's foreign friends and foes become assertive

For 24 hours or so after U.S. fighter-bombers under NATO command raided Serbian forces in eastern Bosnia early last week, official Washington basked in the belief that at least one aspect of America's departed foreign policy had been clarified and, better yet, produced action. The issue of intervention was brooding. For a start, the Serbs defied reaction left Washington pondering what could do for an end, short of deeper military intervention in the Balkans. Next, Defense Secretary William Perry postponed a trip to Asian trouble zones after two U.S. jets explicitly shot down two American helicopters on a UN mission in northern Iraq, lifting an international embargo of 26. Perry could not only that "imagine accident" but also "the press of other world issues" as the reason for his decision.

The pressing issues outpace a catalogue of global and bilateral problems. Beyond the urgency of Bosnia, where—in apparent total

isolation for the air strikes—Serbs held 18 Canadian peacekeepers hostage for several days before freeing them at week's end, U.S. President Bill Clinton was set last week to release a comprehensive policy statement on U.S. involvement for taking part in constitutional peace missions. At the same time, he urged Russian President Boris Yeltsin to meet on April 21 (target date for joining the "Partnership for Peace," a Clinton-led NATO initiative to forge security links with Eastern Europe).

REPORT FROM WASHINGTON

By CARL MOULINS

What colors both these and other policy-making demands are among forces of mobilization. Repressed during the Cold War, nationalist fervor erupted after the collapse of the Soviet empire. It is manifestly visible in the Balkans and parts of the former Soviet Union. It is at least implicit in a new readiness of governments to assert their cultural and political differences in ways that were antithetical during the Cold War era. As Clinton declared in his election campaign and in many speeches since:

...at present, as in Italy, and regionally based movements, as in Central Asia, that advance the conduct of foreign relations. Nonetheless, in sharp, in powerful demand in U.S. policies. The shift in international behavior has belittled the Clinton administration in its application of global policy based vaguely on economic growth, free trade and promoting "the power of democracy" rather than in shaping the post-Cold War era, as Clinton declared in his election campaign and in many speeches since.

But the passage of these years has encountered resistance on several fronts. Japan insists on pursuing its own business and trade agenda in defiance of intensive U.S. pressure for rapid change. Beijing resists Washington's efforts to link human rights and commerce as preconditions of meeting in China's internal affairs. North Korea adopts a similar argument in rejecting demands to respect its nuclear program. Haiti's military rulers, unwilling to give way to democracy, simply stone-wall a superpower nation that has repeatedly imposed its will by force in the Caribbean. And Singapore government officials, under heavy U.S. pressure to grant democracy to an American banker scolded to a potential cause for intervention, took to lec-



Clinton at the Capitol: a preoccupation with domestic politics

ture American test work to the effect that they might, like Singapore, reduce cases as their claim by giving society's rights at least as much weight as the individual's claims.

Clinton, the first U.S. president born after the Second World War (he was not yet three when the North Atlantic Treaty was forged 45 years ago this month), is also the first to face a world in which the absence of the Communist challenge and an unopposed threat of nuclear war reduces foreign reliance on U.S. defense and diplomacy. At the same time, this revolution in international politics tends to diminish the power of the U.S. presidency itself. Says a study published in the spring issue of *Foreign Policy* quarterly by social scientist Daniel Drezner and political scientist John Tenbrunsel: "Despite of foreign and military policy, there is no preoccupation of presidential pre-eminence, and strong domestic forces and inter-ministerial advice."

At its inauguration 15 months ago, Clinton declared that American must "change change, but it might as well." But the shaping of U.S. policy to the Balkans has been painful, both because of differing views

the administration and because of what critics cite as Clinton's preoccupation with domestic politics. Popular American opinion has swung against military intervention since the war in U.S. involvement in Somalia at its cost in lives. Clinton pulled U.S. troops out of the Horn of Africa country at the end of last month after a largely fruitless effort to restore order. Less than two weeks before the air strikes in Bosnia, Defense Secretary Perry and Gen. John Shalikashvili, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, indicated publicly that they opposed any U.S. military involvement. That prompted corrective statements by Secretary of State Warren Christopher and Clinton's national security adviser, Anthony Lake. In the wake of the air strikes, Clinton hastened to inform the nation: "We have to be firm in pursuing the policy that we say we have."

That policy now is a declared readiness to respond, as a member of NATO, to requests from the United Nations to provide or support for intervening UN forces in Bosnia. Critics say that limiting of command limits when Clinton's role as U.S. commander-in-chief. Some congressmen, in advance of

Clinton's decision on his peace-keeping doctrine, raised the same worries over the erosion of sovereign U.S. rights to call the shots when it comes to exposing American forces to combat. And Yeltsin, wary of military intervention in Moscow over Russia playing a subordinate role in the proposed partnership with NATO, voiced similar complaints in protesting that he was not even informed in advance of the air strikes despite Russia's role as part of UN operations in the Balkans, its historic friendship with the Serbs and its role in peace efforts.

As it happened, according to military officials, American jets carried out last week's attacks because it was their turn on patrol out of the NATO base in Aviano, Italy, when the attack order arrived. It also turned out that the results, by a pair of F-16 jets on April 30 and two F-15s the next day, proved to be more symbolic than effective. Bad weather shortened the bombing of tanks the first day, two bombs dropped on the second day were duds and a third bomb got stuck on a jet's wing. The Serbs perished in their siege of thousands of Muslim refugees in the eastern Bosnian city of Gorazde, one of its "safe havens" designated by the United Nations. Gorazde's status was supported by a handful of UN soldiers whose endangerment was the ostensible reason for the UN authorized air strikes. Afterward, Serbian nationalist forces elsewhere in Bosnia began harassing other UN troops, severely wounding a French soldier in Sarajevo and imprisoning the Canadian soldier at UN observation posts north of the capital.

Before the Canadian's release, Maj. Gen. John Maclean, commander of Canadian troops in Sarajevo, said the captives, members of the 1st Battalion of the Royal 22nd Regiment, were well treated. "We have had heretofore contact with representatives of the Canadian group," he said. "They are being treated more as guests than as hostages."

The air strikes marked one significant departure for NATO as the military alliance tries to find a post-Cold War purpose. It was the first time that NATO warplanes had ever attacked ground targets in combat—and outside its defense area at that—since its founding in 1949 as a plug-in among the United States, Canada and Western European countries to treat an attack on any one of them as an attack on all. That precedent, including its risks of deeper involvement, is just one more signal to Washington and its allies that they are more urgently than ever on notice to shape change, lest it engulf them. □



U.S. air force pilot leaving Italy for Bosnia: more symbols than effective



Corpses in Kigali rules of horror

The bloodbath, rooted in decades-old ethnic animosity, began after a suspicious plane crash killed the presidents at Kigali and Bujumbura on April 6. The two men were Hutu, the majority who said the genocide has been lived up with the Tutsi minority in both countries. An orgy of violence erupted in Kigali as murdering Hutu gangs and troops loyal to the slain president attacked Tutsi civilians with machetes, knives and spears. By week's end, as thousands of the Tutsi-dominated Rwandan Patriotic Front fought back and the last remaining foreigners scrambled to flee the anarchy, an estimated 20,000 people lay dead.

Sister Gaelle Allard, 30, a nun from Quebec City, was one of the foreigners who flew into Nairobi after escaping Rwanda, where she had lived for the past 15 years. She had been working for CRS-AM, helping to run a refugee centre in Kigali for some of the 60,000 northern Rwandans displaced by the country's recent civil war. After "systematic rape" robbed all of the centre's food and medicine, she decided to leave. French troops escorted her to the airport to catch an evacuation flight. "We had to stop several times on our way past to clear bodies off the road," she recalled. "They were everywhere, covered with blood—men, women, even children."

Monique Muponyonyori, president of the Rwandan Association for the Defence of Human Rights and Public Liberties, managed to escape thanks to her own agency—and the timely intervention of the Canadian Embassy in Kigali. The 35-year-old Rwandan woman dodged a squad of soldiers from the Presidential Guard by hiding for 36 hours in the ceiling of her home. "I finally decided that if I was going to survive I'd have to play a little poker," she told Montreal's *Le Soleil* newspaper in Belgium. "I bribed some young soldiers with a lot of money and all my jewelry to take me to a hotel in downtown Kigali. When I got there, the Canadians agreed to get me on a flight out to Nairobi by granting me honorary citizenship. I owe my life to Canadian generosity."

Five babies were among those who arrived at Nairobi last week, Rwandan orphans who had previously been adopted by Canadian couples but were trapped by the violence. Waiting to greet them were five groups of adoptive parents. "You're safe now, you're safe," cooed Louise Trevisan as she cuddled her new daughter, the six-month-old Marie-Chen. Unaware of the horror that she had narrowly escaped in Rwanda, Marie-Chen's new life in Canada had just begun.

BABY CAME to Montreal

WORLD

RWANDA

'A scene from hell'

Canadians escape a bloodbath in central Africa

The memory will haunt Brother Joseph Bourgeois for the rest of his life. "It was indescribable—a scene from hell," recalled the 55-year-old Boston Catholic missionary from Verdun, Que., unable to suppress a shudder as he described his escape last week from western Rwanda. After a night spent hiding in a corn silo and another in the forested hills overlooking the agricultural school he supervised just north of Kigali, the Rwandan capital, Bourgeois fled to down into the city under cover of darkness. "The only light was provided by insects of smoking bonfires," he recalled. "But I could hear gunfire and I could see the bodies in the clouds. There were hundreds of them, scattered all over the roads, lying in the gutters. The horrible smell of rotting flesh hung in the air, along with the smoke." At a makeshift roadblock, one of several lining the route into the city, a drunken militiaman yanked a rifle into Bourgeois's stomach, grasping the missionary to wonder "if my last moment on earth had finally arrived."

Bourgeois finally made it to safety in a downtown hotel. Two days later, he and



French soldier escorts mass to Kigali airport: anarchy

three of his colleagues were airlifted out of Kigali to neighboring Burundi and then to Nairobi, Kenya, where he boarded an Air Canada flight that took him home to Quebec. That plane, along with a Canadian Forces Airbus landed at Montreal's Mirabel airport late last week, carrying the first of 200 Canadians—several of them missionaries—who fled the tiny central African country amid savage civil strife. And like Bourgeois, many arrived with evidence tales of the horror they had witnessed.



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F.R. White

F.R. White

Editor,
Vacation Guide to Canada,
Quebec & Ontario Edition

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Altiège au Lac Inférieur (Maison de la Sagouane)

the second oldest city in Canada. Explore the historic and picturesque downtown area and take the time to visit its museums and art galleries.

From Québec City, take the historic **Avenue Royale** through lively villages to **Sainte-Anne-de-Baupré** where pilgrims visit the faith-healing shrine in the magnificent **Basilique Notre-Dame** offers great accommodations and recreational facilities, plus some of the best hiking and biking in Eastern Canada.

The **Charlebois** region is a UNESCO World Biosphere Reserve. Houses 200 years old line the narrow streets at **Bas-Saint-Paul**, stay awhile and enjoy the art galleries and fine food.

Pointe-au-Pic, overlooking the St. Lawrence, is well known for its friendly country inns, galleries and boutiques. West of **La Malbaie**, the main centre in the region, you can visit a park with the deepest canyon east of the Canadian Rockies.

Île-aux-Coudres is an island nestled in the St. Lawrence River, and offers wonderful opportunities to tour by car or bicycle.

DID YOU KNOW?

Montreal is the only city in the world that is one of the half times higher than Niagara.

In the **Saguenay/Lac-Saint-Jean** Region, don't miss the lake as big as an inland sea. The spectacular **Saguenay Fjord** is an awe-inspiring place to explore where 500 m cliffs were carved by glaciers. The centre of the region is **Chicoutimi** with excellent hotels and shops. Nearby **Sainte-Rose-de-Nord** is a village gem where you can browse through arts and craft shops.

The towns of **Bas-Saint-Catherine** and **Tadoussac**, clinging to the top of the cliffs, are great places for eating, shopping and taking pictures. At the mouth of the **Saguenay River** you can take a cruise to explore the many coves and bays of the fjord. You can also cruise from here into the St. Lawrence River in search of big humpback, fin and great blue whales.

On the northern shore of the

St. Lawrence, as it widens into the gulf, are the **Manicouagan** and **Duplessis** regions. White cliffs, beautiful rivers and forests make it perfect for photographers. **Pointe-aux-Outardes** is a recreational haven. Explore the interesting port city of **Bas-Comeau** try to visit the **Mingan Archipelago**, a series of forty islands and a nature lover's paradise.

On the lovely south shore, the **Chaudière-Appalaches** region is an immense area extending along the St. Lawrence River ending at the door of the **Bas-Saint-Laurent** and **Gaspésie** regions. The coastal villages and people along the **Gaspé Peninsula** make this

the main centre on the island and is serviced by ferry from Prince Edward Island.

In Western Québec, spend time at the **Outaouais** region. The city of **Hull** is located directly across the Ottawa River and is part of Canada's Capital Region. Be sure to visit the new Canadian Museum of Civilization, an architectural masterpiece and treasure house of Canadian history. Nearby **Gatineau Park** is a beautiful wilderness reserve. Follow the Ottawa River to **Montbello** and visit Château Montbello, a beautiful year-round resort and largest log structure in the world.



The resort at Montbello is known as the largest log cabin in the world.

one of the most popular vacation regions in the province. And at **Parc National** you can watch for whales and seals along the coast. At **Perot**, you can enjoy the many facilities in the resort town and see the famous **Rocky Perot**. 5 million tonnes of rock that looks like a ship run aground. Offshore in the **Montserrat Valley**, there are beautiful forests to explore with rivers teeming with large-size salmon.

Îles-de-la-Madeleine (Magdalen Islands) are clustered in the middle of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Here you'll find lush green valleys, white sandy beaches, bright red cliffs surrounded by blue lagoons and ocean. Pretty fishing villages dot the coast and the cuisine here is superb. **Cap-aux-Méclins**

Further north, discover one of the largest natural resources regions of Québec, **Arctique-Tinissimawong**, offers high-northern hunting and fishing. And all the way up to the Hudson Strait and Ungava Bay, Québec's **Far North** is an unbelievable land of rugged beauty and a haven for wildlife. Here, you'll find the very best in freshwater and saltwater fishing. Caribou reign supreme. The southern part of this untamed country is accessible by road, the northern part only by air.

For more information call 1-800-363-7777 (Operator 8236). Or 1-514-673-2615 (Operator 8236). Fax 1-514-684-3828 or write, **Dumontier Québec, C.P. 878, Montréal, Québec H2C 2K3**

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City of MONTRÉAL

1-800-363-7777 (Operator #695)



The architecture in Montreal creates colorful pictures.

But whenever you go, don't miss Old Montreal where the city was born over 350 years ago. The narrow streets, historic architecture, restaurants, bistros and outdoor cafe make this a favorite location for filmmakers creating the atmosphere of Paris and Vienna. Then wander down the Old Port area which was one of the major sights for Montreal's 350th birthday celebration in 1992.

For more information call

1-800-363-7777 (Operator #695)

Or write: Greater Montreal Convention

& Tourism Bureau, 2555 Peel Street,

Suite 400, Montreal, Quebec H3A 1Y8



Montreal hosts the largest jazz festival in the world.



The Olympic Stadium in Montreal's downtown area.

IN MONTRÉAL DON'T MISS:

Château Ramezay (1765) The nation's first headquarters of the American Revolutionary Army during its occupation in 1775-1776.

Mont-Royal Park In the centre of Montreal trails, golf, tennis, soccer, and a lake. Spectacular view of downtown Montreal.

Mary Queen of the World Cathedral A noted domed replica of St. Peter's Basilica in Rome.

Old Montreal North America's most complete reconstruction of 17th-19th century buildings.

Le Musée de la Ville de Montréal French Canada is a gem in the 18th-century Montreal's historic heart.

Notre-Dame Cathedral The second most important in the world after London's St. Paul's.

Olympic Stadium Hosts the world's largest stadium in the world's largest indoor arena.

Saint-Joseph's Cemetery The world's largest place of pilgrimage dedicated to St. Joseph.

Mont-Royal Basilica Built in 1821 in the neo-gothic style.

Museum of Fine Arts Shows many major art exhibitions. Offered museum in Canada.

Historical and Cultural Events From jazz to Grand Prix racing, variety of events are staged all year.

Leslie's Park Situated in North America. Thousands of acres and beautiful views over the world.

Le Jardin An extensive park in the heart of the city.

Museum of Archaeology and History On the site where Montreal was founded. Tells the story of the city's history.

Museum of Contemporary Art The only one of its kind in Canada.

The Canadian Centre for Architecture A museum and study centre.

Casino de Montréal The green jungle. Slots, roulette, craps, and more.

Parc Jean-Jacques Lussier A beautiful park in the heart of the city.



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Québec Outdoors



The towers of Prince on the Gaspé Peninsula.

The many natural and provincial parks also provide wonderful outdoor activities and you'll find that the environment and your safety is well cared for.

FISHING

For the freshwater enthusiast, moose, pike, bass, pickerel and 5 different kinds of freshwater trout (including the locally famous Québec red trout) are all common. Atlantic salmon is also plentiful, or go for a salmonette, the unique Québec land-locked salmon.

Sea fishing in Québec offers its own kind of excitement from sea-trout to arctic charr. Along the Atlantic coast you can try anything from mackerel to bluefish here.

The people of Québec are avid fishing enthusiasts who have cared for their heritage in national and provincial parks as well as regulated fishing zones. Some of the fishing lodges are world-famous and many people have automatic bookings every year.

WILDLIFE

Moose, blackbear and white-tailed deer are common throughout the province. In the northern part of Québec, great herds of caribou still thrive. Scores of different bird varieties can be seen at any time of the year, but in the fall migratory season you can see rare snow geese just down the river from Québec City.

For more information on Québec outdoors, call 1-800-363-7777 (Operator #214), Fax 1-514-864-3838, Or write, Tourisme Québec, C.P. 939, Montréal, Québec H3C 3W3



Canoe riders are never wrapped.

and from the Gaspé to the borders of Ontario, 11 different zones are designated as official bird-watching areas.

Any activity connected with water is spectacular. Surfing, wind surfing and canoeing is good everywhere. And scuba divers can explore an unlimited number of crystal-clear lakes or observe lobsters, seashells and other aquatic life in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the ocean waters off the beautiful Îles-de-la-Madeleine (Magdalen Islands). White water rafting on The Rivière Rouge, northwest of Montréal, has become a whitewater mecca in Eastern Canada.

Québec is the largest province in Canada and contains 40% of all the fresh water in the world. Countless lakes and rivers punctuate a landscape of rolling hills and mountains and offer every kind of vacation fun and activity you can imagine. There are hundreds of miles of ocean coastline to explore and Montserrat Falls in one and a half times higher than Niagara.

Superb golf courses on vast country estates and resorts rival the best on the continent. Smaller resorts and country inns offer cozy rooms and superb food plus outstanding facilities for tennis, hiking, horseback riding, golf, cycling and every kind of water-sport. Hang gliding and mountain climbing are popular along the Gaspé coast and in the mountainous region northeast of Québec City. Many spots offer health and relaxation programs, great camping facilities are available everywhere.

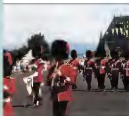
Québec is a mecca for bird-watchers. Hundreds of different species live in or fly over the province

QUÉBEC CITY

1-800-363-7777 (Operator #214)



The old city is a favorite place for street entertainers.



Properly in the heart of the old city.

This is the only walled city in North America; the cradle of French civilization on our continent; and one of the few cities in the world designated by UNESCO as a World Heritage Site.

Inside the imposing fortifications of Old Québec, picture-book streets and ancient stone buildings, with dormer windows and brightly painted shutters, take you back through the pages of history. The Ursuline Convent was founded in 1642.

Charming shops and candle-lit restaurants are a delight to the eye and the palate. And in the rue du Trésor area, street artists help create an atmosphere similar to the Left Bank in Paris. Many old buildings are now charming inns or bed-and-breakfast places.

Take a stroll on the boardwalk and watch ships in the St. Lawrence far below. Walk the ramparts of the Citadel (then the nearby Place of Abraham where British and

French troops clashed in 1759). Outside the old walls rises the modern city where most residents live and work. The clubs and restaurants along Grande Allée provide glittering night life. In the surrounding streets and squares, entertainers from around the world perform in the International Summer Festival in July.

For more information call 1-800-363-7777 (Operator #214), Fax 1-418-683-1481, Or write, Greater Québec Area Tourisme & Conventions Bureau, 60, rue d'Arden, Québec City, Québec G1R 4C4.

IN QUÉBEC CITY DON'T MISS:

National Battlefield Park The Plains of Abraham, where Canada's most dramatic battle was fought in 1759.

Musee du Fort The six wings of Québec, including the Arsenal museum (1731), are re-created.

Notre-Dame-de-Grâce Basilica The oldest parish church in the city dates back to 1647.

The National Assembly Elegant, neo-classical style seat of the Québec government.

The Fortifications Nearly 5 km of walled fortifications on the edge of the Old City.

Place Royale First town square where the city was born in 1608.

Petit-Champlain Quarter The most authentic restoration of 17th and 18th century buildings in North America.

The Citadel A large star-shaped fortress completed in the 1750s.

Montmorency Falls Just 30 minutes west of Québec City. The falls are one and a half times higher than Niagara.

Sainte-Anne-de-la-Croix Basilica A world famous Gothic shrine.

Château Frontenac Completed in 1910 this Québec City landmark housed the famous and was once known as Chateau de la Reine.

Île d'Orléans A gem of an island down river from Québec City. Features historic Québécois houses, fishing villages, churches and superb viewpoints.

Beauport Québec Only one of the best of greened cities. (Greenery makes it one of the city's choice for government from all over eastern North America).

Festivals and Events The International Summer Festival, the largest francophone cultural event in North America. The Québec Winter Carnival, the world's biggest winter celebration. And many more.

Musee du Québec Contains the most significant collection of Québec art.

Musee de la civilisation A place for reflection, learning and discovery.



The rue du Trésor area.

QUÉBEC

Festivals & Events

1-800-363-7777 (Operator #214)

The following is just a sample of the many festivals and events taking place in Québec in 1994. For more information call the toll free number above.

Besson & Hedges International Fireworks Competition - Montreal.
View in its 10th year.
July 28 - June 25 (Saturdays)
July 3 - 31 (Sundays)

Le Tour de l'Île - Montreal.
A 70-km (43-mile) challenge for more than 30,000 cyclists.
June 5

Grand Prix cycliste de Bonaventure-Saint-Georges (Chaudière-Appalaches).
International cycling competition featuring two sprints and four road races.
June 7 - 13



Festival de la chanson québécoise - Tadoussac (Chaudière-Appalaches).
Four days of activities devoted to Québec songwriters, composers, singers and musicians.
June 9 - 12

Festival du vin des Laurentides - Saint-Sauveur-des-Monts (Laurentides).
Gastronomy: tour and wine-tasting.
June 15 - July 17

Grand Prix Nelson du Canada - Montreal.
The only Formula 1 race in Canada.
June 10 - 12

Musik-Coursus International - Saint-Gabriel (Laurentides).
Marathon for runners and race-walkers of all levels.
June 12

Festival international du Domaine Forget - Saint-Erme (Charlevoix).
Classical music and jazz concerts.
June 15 - August 21

Festival de la croquette - Matane (Gaspésie).
Feats of strength and fun.
June 23 - 30

Fête internationale de la sculpture - Saint-Jean-Port-Joli (Chaudière-Appalaches).

Québec and foreign artists sculpt large works. Demonstrations with public participation.
June 23 - July 3

La Falscience Histoire d'un royaume - La Bale (Saguenay/Lac-Saint-Jean).
A spectacular historical pageant with 200 actors, 1,500 costumes, animals and collectors' vehicles.
June 23 - July 31

Mountain Elite World Cup - Parc du Mont-Sainte-Anne (Greater Québec Area).
Downhill and cross-country races for top competitors.
June 24 - 26

Noëls internationaux de jazz et blues de Québec - Québec City.
Concerts on outdoor stages under a big-top and in city bars and restaurants.
June 23 - July 2



Symposium de peinture - Baie-Comeau (Manicouagan).
Thirty North American painters at work in the heart of nature.
June 26 - July 3



Festival international de jazz de Montreal - Montreal.
One of the five biggest jazz festivals in the world.
June 25 - July 10

Festival Orford - Magog-Orford (Estrie).
Concerts by great masters of classical music.
June 30 - August 20

Festival des arts Elanville - Sainte-Agathe-des-Monts (Laurentides).
Many performances and family activities.
July

Festibélis amateurs nautiques de Saguenay - Saguenay (Saguenay).
Sailing and windsurfing races in the bay of Saguenay.
July 1 - 3, 8 - 10

Festival de la giboulée - Sorel (Montérégie).
Enjoy cultural activities and giboulée, a fish stew typical of the region.
July 2 - 3

Festival international de Laurentides - Joliette (Laurentides).
The most important classical music festival in North America.
July 3 - August 2

Festival d'été international de Québec - Québec City.
The longest French-language festival of stage and street performances in America.
July 7 - 17

Valleyfest International Regatta - Valleyfield (Montérégie).
Events with the best speedboat pilots in the world.
July 8 - 10

Wijé Folkfest Festival - Drummondville (Coteau-du-Québec).
Colorful folkloric troupes from 19 countries within city streets and parks.
July 8 - 17

La Grande Aventure - Montreal.
Sound and light show with giant puppets about the dawn of civilization.
July 12 - August 26

Festival international de jazz et Blues de Baie-Comeau (Manicouagan).
Jazz and blues in city streets and bars.
July 14 - 17

Régates internationales de Ville-Marie - Ville-Marie (Abitibi-Témiscamingue).
The best Canadian and American speedboat pilots compete.
July 15 - 17



Lac Memphringham International Swimming Marathon - Magog-Orford (Estrie).
Attracts the best long-distance swimmers in the world, plus related activities.
July 15 - 24

Les 10 jours western - Dolbeau (Saguenay/Lac-Saint-Jean).
Races, parades, shows and western-style village.
July 15 - 24

Festival Bell Just for Laughs - Montreal.
The largest comedy festival in the world.
July 21 - 31

La Traversée internationale du lac Saint-Jean - Roberval (Saguenay/Lac-Saint-Jean).
Special activities highlighting two swimming competitions, the relay and the 40th marathon swim across lake Saint-Jean.
July 23 - 31

Pils du vol libre - Mont-Saint-Pierre (Gaspésie).
International hang-gliding and parasailing meet.
July 28 - August 7

Rodéo du carillon - Notre-Dame-du-Nord (Abitibi-Témiscamingue).
Races, parade and "beauty contest" for trucks.
July 28 - 31



Tour de l'Abitibi - La Sarre (Abitibi-Témiscamingue).
International-level junior cycling event.
August 2 - 7

Grand Prix Payer's de Trois-Rivières - Trois-Rivières (Coteau-du-Québec).
International-calibre racing on a unique route through the city.
August 5 - 7

Symposium de la jeune peinture au Canada - Baie-Saint-Paul (Charlevoix).
Fellow painters create a guest work while visitors look on.
August 5 - September 5

Stad Castle Contest - Havre-Aubert (Îles-de-la-Madeleine).
Beautiful sand castles rise on the beach.
August 6

Festival de musique ancienne de Silby - Silby (Greater Québec Area).
Concerts of early music with minstrels and troubadours.
August 8 - 29

Les Fêtes gourmandes internationales - Montreal.
World tour of gastronomy under tents.
August 11 - 21

Journées d'Anse et d'Anse - Lével.
Folk culture, visual arts and cuisine of the city's different ethnic communities.
August 19 - 14

Festival de montage international de Saint-Jean-Richelieu - Saint-Jean-Richelieu (Montérégie).
The biggest gathering of hot air balloons in Canada.
August 21 - 21

Plaisirs International - Montreal.
International women's tennis competition.
August 13 - 21

Neltem 94 - Bechtelheim (Outaouais).
Installation art exhibited along a half-mile route.
August 21 - September 25

Expo-Québec - Québec City.
The biggest agricultural fair in Québec, trade show, fun, fair rides, performances.
August 17 - 28

The Descent of the Mile-les - Lével.
20-km (12-mile) canoe trip down the Mile-les river.
August 27

World Film Festival - Montreal.
An international event in the world of film.
August 25 - September 5

Canada International Junior Tennis Tournament - Repentigny (Laurentides).
Junior players from 25 countries compete.
August 28 - September 4



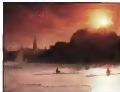
Fest-Jazz de Rimouski - Rimouski (Bas-Saint-Laurent).
Renowned jazz concerts in city streets, bars and other venues.
August 31 - September 4

Sainte-Thé Western Festival - Sainte-Thé (Coteau-du-Québec).
The biggest western attraction in Eastern Canada, in its 29th year.
September 9 - 18



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Explore the sights and delights of Toronto. Here, people from dozens of different nations mix and share their backgrounds and customs during Caravan, nine days of festivities that take place at over 50 different locations all over the city. Then there's Caribana, the largest Caribbean Festival in the world.

At Kitchener, they celebrate the biggest Oktoberfest outside of Germany. And at Pergus, Scottish clan members come from all over North America to join in the festivities and watch the Highland Games.

If Shakespeare is more to your liking, Stratford is just a short distance away. And in Ontario's wine country, you

can tour the vineyards, spend a day at Niagara-On-The-Lake then take in the George Bernard Shaw Theatre Festival.

Stay in the nation's capital then take the Rideau Canal through 47 locks and numerous lakes to Kingston and the Thousand Islands tourist area in the St. Lawrence. Turn north to cottage country, The Kawartha Lakes, Muskoka, The Haliburton Highlands and Georgian Bay.

Reve the stunning coastline of Lake Superior and visit Manitoulin Island, the largest freshwater island in the world. From there, visit the home lands of Ontario's native people and experience a culture that existed a thousand years before the white men ever knew that North America existed.



Caribana, the largest Caribbean festival in the world.



Lake Simcoe, a short drive from Toronto

TOURING

If you head west from the Toronto area, you drive through "the garden of Ontario." Call in at **Stratford** and see the restored house where Alexander Graham Bell invented the telephone. Nearby **Acton** was once the largest leather tanning town in the British Empire, and is still a great place to buy leather garments, furs and Canadiana furniture. **Elmira** and **St. Jacobs** are right in the heart of Mennonite country where the people still wear traditional dress and drive horse-drawn buggies.

The twin cities of **Kitchener-Waterloo**, each full, celebrate their German heritage with the biggest Oktoberfest this side of Munich. The ethnic influence shifts at **Fergus**, home of the famous Scottish Highland Games. At nearby **Elora**, many 19th century homes have been restored and it's a great place to shop for crafts. See the beautiful **Royal Botanical Gardens** and **Dundurn Castle** at **Hamilton**.

Then on to sample wines at the 18 wineries of the **Niagara Peninsula**. **Niagara-on-the-Lake**, said to be the loveliest 19th century town on the continent is home of the **Shaw Festival**, the world's only theatre devoted to George Bernard Shaw. Don't miss the garden city of **St. Catharines** where ships from around the world pass

through the Welland Canal from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie.

From here, go to **Stratford**, home of the best Shakespearean Festival in North America. One of the two largest cities in this area is **London**, great for historic sites, good restaurants and shopping. Heading further west, visit **Chatham** and the surrounding area. **Dresden** is the site of Uncle Tom's

Cabin, an integral part of the African-American Heritage Tour. **Point Pelee National Park** is on the same latitude as northern California, and nearby **Middle Island** is the southern-most point in Canada. **Windsor**, the second of the largest cities in this area, features many attractive parks and is a major U.S. entry point.

Directly north of Toronto, you pass through **Orillia**, the resort town between Lake Couchiching and Lake Simcoe. **Collingwood** is a year round resort town at the foot of Blue Mountain. Drive on to **Brace Ponds** and **National Park** which is famous for its scenic hiking trails. On **Mattawa Island** you can explore a 1,500 km of coastline with bays, sandy beaches, and quaint towns and villages.

Site: Anne Among the Hurons is a living museum at **Midland** which takes you back 350 years to the time of the French Jesuits and the Huron First Nation. From **Perry Sound** you can cruise the 30,000 islands, the largest concentration of islands in the world. At **Georgian Bay**, you're right in the heart of the beautiful **Muskoka**

resort area where many people have summer homes and lakeside cottages. And the vacation town of **Huntsville** is at the entrance to **Algonquin Provincial Park** where you can camp or stay in well appointed lodges. The picturesque village of **Halliburton** is surrounded by 600 lakes and is a favourite resort with Ontario residents.

The country to the north is more dramatic. The resort town of **North Bay** is a great place to fish and take beautiful lake cruises. **Sudbury** is the largest town in the area and has yielded a wealth of precious metals over the years. The big locks at **Sault Ste. Marie** connect Lakes Huron and Superior. From here, the incredible train trip through the **Agawa Canyon** is unbelievably beautiful. At **Cobalt**, the world's richest silver vein was discovered. And from

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Cochrane you can take the **Polar Bear Express** train to see **Polar Bear Provincial Park**, one of the largest wildlife parks in the world.

The drive to **Thunder Bay** along the shore of Lake Superior is one of the most spectacular anywhere. This bustling, progressive town of 214,000 will host the World Nordic Ski Championships in 1995.

Fishing and water sports are among the best in Canada but many people come for the good restaurants and shopping. You can gather snowflakes here, the official gemstone of Ontario.

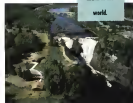
Old Fort William is a major reconstructed trading post. Drive to nearby **Kakabeka Falls**, known as the Niagara of the north. The **Lake Of The Woods** is another beautiful touring area with

15,000 lakes and facilities for every kind of family or adventure vacation.

For more information call 1-800-958-2716 or 1-416-314-0944. Fax: 1-416-314-7332. Or send: Ontario Travel, Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Recreation, Queen's Park, Toronto, ONT M7A 2G5.



Shore of Ontario's Georgian Bay is a beautiful touring area.



Kakabeka Falls near Thunder Bay.

1-800-363-1990



Outdoor cafe delights the whole scene

Y ou just find things to do and see with the Toronto area is as high as the CN Tower.

Visit SkyDome, home of the Toronto Blue Jays, and the most modern sports and entertainment structure in the world; Casa Loma, a 98-room baronial castle built by an eccentric millionaire; the Batafon Centre, a glass

DID YOU KNOW?

Toronto is the third largest theatre centre in the English speaking world.

and concrete shopping complex that stretches from city blocks, the Ontario Science Centre, Woodbine racetrack, home of the Queen's Plate, the Royal Ontario Museum, the Metro Zoo, the symphony, the opera, the Hockey Hall of Fame.

Toronto's extensive waterfront, with its promenade, marinas, shops and outdoor cafe is a great place to stroll. Ontario Place is a recreational haven stretching into Lake Ontario. The Toronto Islands are connected by ferry, to downtown, and offer wonderful facilities for family picnics, boating and swimming.

Toronto is also a city of trees, parks and ramblas, friendly pubs and cafe, small boutiques and department stores, markets and street vendors. It has over five thousand restaurants and 330 theatre and dance companies and many fine galleries.

It's a city that constantly changes its character as you move from one place to the next. Colourful neighbourhoods with distinctively different ethnic personalities have often been chosen by film companies to depict Boston, Tokyo, New York, Vienna and even Tehran.



SkyDome: View from above through the architectural marvel

IN TORONTO DON'T MISS:

- Admission Live Subject**, the latest in crime as *Alibi*. Just a short drive from Toronto.
- Art Gallery of Ontario**. One of the largest in North America. Permanent special exhibits.
- Black Creek Pioneer Village**. Rural pioneer village re-creating early Canada.
- Casa Loma**. A 98-room castle built by an eccentric Toronto millionaire between 1911-14.
- Canada's Woodland Museum**. Home to the past and the future.
- Chinatown**. One of the largest in the continent.
- New City Hall**. Carved into stone, it's a masterpiece of modern architecture.
- The CN Tower**. The world's tallest free-standing structure offers many both to visitors including a revolving restaurant and sight-seeing.
- Santa Claus**. Four city blocks of his shops and residences.
- Harbourfront**. A line of recreation, art activities and festivals along the lake front.
- Queen's Park**. Seasonal shopping complex.
- Kensington Market**. Street market featuring great European and Canadian goods.
- Metropolis Zoo**. More than 1,000 animals in three natural environments.
- Ontario Place**. Exhibition place on one of the islands in Lake Ontario. Gardens and world famous performance in summer.
- Ontario Science Centre**. Interactive displays and exhibits for the whole family. World's tallest by day.
- The ROM**. The Royal Ontario Museum, with dinosaur exhibits, and one of the world's finest collections of Canada art.
- Shakespeare with orchestra**. Read those of the Toronto Shakespeare Festival.
- SkyDome**. Part of Toronto's hot, date and safe recreation system.
- St. Lawrence Market**. Lunch here, dinner there.
- Southshore Market and the Beaches**. The Market is from Lake Ontario, presenting a special view of the lake from the "beaches" scene a panoramic view of water and trees and trendy shops and restaurants.
- Theatre**. Over 120 professional theatre and dance companies. Toronto is the last to put theatre centre in the English speaking world.
- Toronto Islands**. Picnics, boating, wildlife preserves. Guided to the city by ferry.
- Woodbine Racetrack**. Home of the "Queen's Plate", North America's oldest continuously run horse race.
- Hockey Hall of Fame**. Contains a full-size replica of the National Hockey League trophy and entry of all players.

For more information call:
1-800-363-1990 or 416-207-2580.
Fax 416-207-2885. Or write to: The Metropolitan Toronto Convention and Visitors Association, 207 Queen's Quay West, P.O. Box 120, Toronto, ONT M5X 1A7.

30 NIAGARA FALLS

1-905-356-6061



The Canadian Horseshoe Falls, one of the world's wonders of the world

On an average day, about 30,000 people visit Niagara, making it one of the most popular tourist destinations in the world.

See this breathtaking spectacle from ground level, by helicopter, from a revolving restaurant on top of the Skylon Tower, through rock-out tunnels that take you right behind the thundering waters, or from a spray-lashed boat that sails right to the base of the Horseshoe Falls.

Another unforgettable sight is the Falls lit up by night-time illuminations.

The spectacle continues far beyond the Falls. The 55 km journey along the Niagara Parkway was

described by Winston Churchill as the most beautiful Sunday afternoon drive in the world.

Niagara-on-the-Lake is surely one of the prettiest and best preserved 19th century towns on the continent. Here you'll find historic hotels, shops and colonial homes with immaculate gardens and white picket fences that recall the days when this was the capital of Upper Canada. The famous Shaw Festival is staged throughout the summer in three first-class theatres, featuring the works of George Bernard Shaw and other major playwrights. This is truly world-class theatre at its best.

Visit Fort Erie for an exciting afternoon of thoroughbred racing. Tour the beautiful countryside that is Ontario's wine country and visit one of the many wineries that are capturing world-wide attention for Ontario wines, or simply relax and watch the sail boats glide by on Lake Ontario.

The Niagara Peninsula is a favourite destination for visitors from all over Canada and the United States.



Main street, Niagara-on-the-Lake

IN NIAGARA FALLS DON'T MISS:

- The Falls**. See the Falls, The American, Canadian and Horseshoe Falls.
- Niagara Museum**. Discover the story of the Niagara, a people who lived on the banks of the river, the story of the falls, the story of the falls.
- The Maid of the Mist**. A boat takes you to the base of the falls.
- The Falls at night**. At night the Falls are lit up, the lights change from white to red, green, blue and blue.
- The Shaw Festival**. Great theatre of the world.
- The Horseshoe and Whirlpool**. The story of the Niagara Falls, the story of the Niagara Falls.
- The Niagara Falls**. 11 km of spectacular scenery along the Niagara River. The perfect Sunday drive in the world.
- Whirlpool**. Dip into the whirlpool whirlpool. The world's largest whirlpool, the whirlpool.
- Niagara Falls (USA)**. The story of the Niagara Falls, the story of the Niagara Falls.
- Skyline Tower**. 17 stories of the best of the falls, with panoramic views.
- Niagara Falls**. The story of the falls, the story of the falls.



Re-mounting the war of 1812

For more information call:
1-905-356-6061. Fax 1-905-356-6061.
Or write: Niagara Falls Visitor & Convention Bureau, 3423 Victoria Ave., Niagara Falls, Ontario L2G 3L7.

OTTAWA/HULL CANADA'S CAPITAL REGION

1-800-465-1867



Canada Day celebrations on Parliament Hill

Advertising Supplement

Canada's Capital is much more than a city. It's a whole region stretching out over two provinces. Nearly a million people live here and it contains more sights and attractions than any other metropolitan area in Canada.

The region is also the nation's festival capital. Every spring, the city is a blaze of colour when millions of bulbs are planted for the Canadian Tulip Festival. In July, thousands of visitors come for the Ottawa International Jazz Festival, to celebrate Canada Day on Parliament Hill or see the



Gatineau Park, a lovely day-trip resort, just a few minutes from downtown.

National Air Show From July through August, outdoor stages are set up all over the city when Canada's most exciting artists perform for Cultures Canada. In September, the city of Gatineau stages their famous Hot Air Balloon Festival. Even in winter, all the fun continues during Winterlude, one of the best known winter festivals in the country.

Confederation Boulevard is the perfect place for sightseers to start



Nightcruising by boat on the Rideau Canal

their tour. This is the official ceremonial route for state occasions and takes you past many of our national symbols and world class museums. Don't miss the pageantry on Parliament Hill, where every day during the summer months, the stirring "Changing the Guard" ceremony is performed and the great Noonday Gun fires. Free tours take you through the House of Commons, Speaker's Chamber, the Peace Tower and the beautiful building that houses the Parliamentary Library.

Join the embassies. Take in a Broadway show or a world-class opera. Browse the shops and boutiques. Hit the bars and bistros of Byward Market or Blue Ashby in Hull. Sip Beaujolais at a trendy wine bar or enjoy dinner haute cuisine alongside the nation's movers and shakers.

Then for a total change, just minutes from downtown, visit Gatineau



The National Gallery, Canada's showcase for painting and sculpture

Park, 365 square kms, of forests, lakes and wildlife with spectacular lookouts and many outdoor activities.

For information and reservations call 1-800-465-1867 or write, Ottawa Tourism & Convention Authority, 2nd Floor, 111 Laurier Street, Ottawa, Ontario K1P 2L7



The Museum of Civilization has the world's first combined MUSEUM/RETAIL store.

Advertising Supplement

IS CANADA'S CAPITAL REGION OOR'T MISS?

Heulien of Notre Dame Cathedral Took hold a century to build

Bytown Museum The Capital's oldest building featuring historical relics and documents

Byward Market Historic 1120 market with trendy shops, bistros and nightlife

Canadian War Museum War is not just a fact here but presented as an ongoing aspect of our heritage and history

Changing the Guard Daily pageantry on Parliament Hill June 27 to August 20

Gatineau Park Lakes, hiking trails, wildlife, scenic lookouts for the best of nature

Government House Prime Minister's official residence built in 1825

Hill Walk Scenic views, nightlife and historic architecture of the old Parliament

National Museum of Science and Technology Science, space and exciting scientific exhibits. A popular family attraction

National Arts Centre Opera, plays, concerts and events in the heart of the Capital

National Gallery The world's largest collection of Canadian art including the House of Commons

Museum of Civilization Canada's history and genealogy. Features a variety of interactive exhibits, multimedia presentations and festivals

Canadian Museum of Nature Animals, birds, fossils, dinosaurs, minerals and plants. Displays the natural history of the earth

Parliament Hill Prime Minister's office, Parliament of Canada, government and Senate. Free tours daily

National Archives Some 100,000 books, paintings, photographs, manuscripts and maps

National Aviation Museum Tells the story of flight in past and present. Features 140 aircraft plus interactive exhibits and films

Rideau Canal and Locks From 1824 to 1832 the canal was built through Ottawa. Transforms into the world's largest skating rink in winter

Sports Street Mall A fun place to shop

Madame King Estate in the Gatineau Hills A glimpse into the life of Canada's longest serving Prime Minister

Royal Canadian Mint Where they make a lot of money

Marche Libre Shopping, dining, hiking and the site of the well-known 1987 March

Levee Walk

Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography Every five years the gallery is transformed with fresh installations of work by some of Canada's best photographers

The Log House A national historic site of the 1870s in the Capital Green Belt

Devlin House A National Historic Site built in 1875 and home to two of Canada's greatest Prime Ministers

My Summer Adventure. By Matthew.



We went to the Capital!



We had a picnic in Gatineau Park. I saw a deer.



We all went bike riding even dad



I saw the hugest totem pole ever.



We saw the picture that auntie Karen has. But it was the real one. You could see the paint!



We went to a place where there was music and sunshine. My sister thought the dancers were cool. I liked the maple fudge.



Canada Day was the best. I got a flag and a postcard. I still have them.

Tim Hortons

EATON



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de la Capitale nationale

Canada

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June 1 - September 30

Marine International Canoe - Toronto.
A travel adventure through 49 ports representing Toronto's many cultures.

June 17 - 25

North Bay Arts Festival - North Bay
Pottery firing, outdoor sculpture building, fibre weaving, medieval dancing, challenge games, basketball performances.

June 18



Hamilton International Air Show - Hamilton.

Military aircraft and ground displays.

June 18 - 19

Beason and Hodges Inc. Symphony of Fire - Toronto.

Musical fireworks competition, international competitors from the U.S., Portugal, Germany, Spain & Italy.

June 18, 25, 29 & July 2, 6, 9

Le Franco-Ontarien Festival - Ottawa.

Celebrates the Francophone culture of the world, with the world's best French artists gathering to perform on outdoor stages.

June 21 - 25

Gold Rush Days - Deyden.

Craft market, concerts, multicultural foods, valley masters, pancake breakfast, volleyball, football, fireworks.

June 22 - July 3

International Freedom Festival - Windsor.

Music, live entertainment, tug-across-the-river, Marine Day, basketball tournament, children's day, fireworks, parade, flag raising, bed race, musical entertainment, parade.

June 22 - July 4

Canadian Sunset - Ottawa.

R.C.M.P. perform musical rides, dressage events, carriage driving, four-in-hand, sunset ceremonies.

June 24 - July 1

Changing The Guard - Ottawa.

Colourful precision drill performed by Canada's oldest regiments.

June 24 - August 28

Friendship Festival - Fort Erie - Buffalo.

Stage entertainment, military tattoo, Highland games, horse show, waterfront events, air show, sports tournaments, arts and crafts, antique cars, dances.

June 25 - July 3

Harlequin Festival - Berrie.

Hot air balloon competitions, concerts.

June 28 - July 3

Sail Toronto '94 - Toronto.

Harbourfront plays host to a fleet of over 25 sailing ships from Europe, the Pacific, the Atlantic seaboard and across the Great Lakes. Presents 6 days of intensive public programming celebrating the rich culture and heritage of the age of sail.

June 29 - July 4



The Canada Day Celebration - Ottawa.

Star entertainers, pavilions of the provinces, fireworks over Parliament Hill commemorating Canada's birthday.

July 1



Multicultural Festival - Kitchener.

Multicultural foods, displays, garden, Island Craft Market, face painting, bakers, children's activities, pony rides.

July 1 - 3

Kagayon Bunsan Rendevouz - Kingston.

Street performers from around the world, over 20 baker stations daily, magic acts, musicians, comedians, jugglers and stunts.

July 1 - 10

Northern Lights Festival Boreal - Sudbury.

Wide variety of arts, crafts, visual arts, bilingual festival.

July 8 - 10

The Great Rendezvous - Thunder Bay.

Re-enactment of the arrival of the fur traders, hundreds of voyageurs re-enactments from all over North America, demonstrations.

July 8 - 17

Antique and Classic Boat show - Georgetown.

Exhibition of antique watercraft, antique outboard engines, art boats, clothing.

July 9

1994 Sudbury Gem and Mineral show - Sudbury.

18 wholesale and retail dealers, trading area, field collecting trip, identification booth, displays, exhibits and demonstrations, video theatre, metal detector and prospector's display, kids activities, silent auction, barbecue.

July 15 - 17

Molson Indy - Toronto.

This 300km race on a 2.85km course through Exhibition Place and along Lakeshore Blvd. is part of the Championship Auto Racing Teams series.

July 15 - 17

Medieval Festival - Orangeville.

Re-enact, armoured foot combat, re-enact and longbow archery competition, live theatre, singers, dancers, musicians, medieval and modern merchants, Norse encampment, smithing, and children's area.

July 16 - 17

Winnipeg Celebration (Paw Wow) - Winnipeg Island.

North American Aboriginal performers of various First Nations demonstrating dances and explaining customs. Aboriginal dance competitions, crafts, jewellery and food.

July 16 - 17



Caribbean - Toronto.

Colourful festival of Caribbean music, art and culture, parade.

July 18 - August 1

Blueberry Festival - Sudbury.

Highlights of Columbus country fair. Blueberry bake-off, Blueberry Festival Pie horse race, pancake breakfast, block party, museum, music, arts and crafts.

August 1 - 24



Leacock Heritage Festival - Orillia.

Leacock evening of humorous song, old-fashioned picnic, children's festival, antique sale, show and auction, historic tours of Leacock's Mariposa, band concerts, theatre in the park, street dance, costume contests and literary competitions.

July 22 - August 1

"Champion of Champions" - Paw Wow - Oshawa.

Competition in music, song and dance featuring traditional Aboriginal dances from across North America, art and crafts exhibition, traditional foods.

July 23 - 24

Molson Canadian Light Hot Air Balloon Fiesta - London.

30 giant balloons, daily balloon launches, Molson Canadian Hot Air Balloon Festival, children's entertainment, food.

July 27 - August 1

Fort Malden's Military Day - Amherstburg.

Various historical military units representing British and American soldiers demonstrate the art of being a soldier.

July 31

112th Royal Canadian Henley Regatta - St. Catharines.

North America's longest international rowing competition. 1500 competitors from North America and overseas.

August 3 - 7

21st Annual Alliston Potato Festival - Alliston.

Parade, demolition derby, midway, dance, flea market, craft show and sale.

August 5 - 7

Canadian Open Fiddle Contest - Shelburne.

41st annual competition, always held the weekend after Civic Holiday.

August 5 - 6

War of 1812 Re-enactment - Fort Erie.

August 6 - 7

Penguin Scottish Festival - Perigo.

Highland games, Scottish concert, World's Old Fiddle, rugby tournament, Scottish traditions, sheep drive, Highland cattle, bands in concert, Scots country dancing, heavy events, mini seminars.

August 12 - 14

Canadian National Exhibition - Toronto.

Oldest and largest annual exhibition in the world. Exhibits, midway, top name entertainers and, on the final 3 days, the Canadian International Air Show, the world's largest.

August 19 - September 5

du Maurier Ltd. Classic - Ottawa.

Women's golf tournament, Pro-Am and practice rounds, golf clinic, championship pro-am.

August 22 - 28



Tremont Green Giant Corn Festival - Tremont.

Live entertainment, contests, carnival, arts and crafts, food booth, parade, festival treats.

August 25 - 28

Waterford Festival - Orillia.

Artists and carvers of waterford, market of related artwork and equipment, competitions and demonstrations.

August 26 - 29

du Maurier Ltd. Canadian Open Golf Championship - Oakville.

Glen Abbey Golf Club.

September 5 - 11

Binder Teller Festival - Kitchener.

Outdoor arts and crafts show, pioneer skills demonstration, old-fashioned food and entertainment.

September 10

Art Gallery of Ontario - Toronto.

From Chippewa to Mohawk: great French paintings from the Barnes Foundation. The only Canadian City to Exhibit this.

September 17 - December 31

Ontario Outdoors

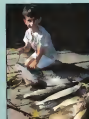
Bring your golf clubs and try Glen Abbey, the site of the Canadian Open, in Ontario. Or take the lovely drive through the Aton Hills and test Blue Springs, home of the Canadian PGA. There are hundreds of courses throughout Ontario. Many are world-class.

Some of the best yachting clubs in North America are dotted along the shores of Lake Ontario and Georgian Bay. But with hundreds of thousands of lakes across the province, many with great sandy beaches, you'll find great facilities for sailing, swimming, water skiing and wind surfing whenever you go.

The waters at Tobinore are perfect for scuba divers. Here you can explore one of the greatest number of shipwrecks in the Great Lakes.

Consider renting a houseboat along the Teot Canal System. You can travel over 500 km through 44 locks and use some of the loveliest countryside in Ontario.

Thousands of tributaries of canoe routes criss-cross the province. White water rafting on the Ottawa River is a lifetime experience. Hiking in great, too. Try the Bruce Peninsula, northwest of Toronto.



Whitewater rafting on the Ottawa River.

If you're travelling by car, stop at a country inn or vacation resort. Many of them offer a menu as good as any city restaurant. If you're bringing a trailer, you'll find some of the best campsites in eastern Canada. The national and provincial parks are all well tended and offer good maps.

FISHING

Most fish weigh in up to 25 kg and the great northern pike are not much smaller. Large and smallmouth bass are a favourite in Ontario. So are whitefish and walleye.

Many of the rivers and lakes are alive with speckled trout. The deeper, cooler lakes offer big rainbow and lake trout. The really big lake trout are common in the Great Lakes along with coho and chinook salmon.

WILDLIFE

Deer, moose and black bear are all common in Ontario. So are migratory ducks, partridge and Canada geese.

Sometimes the fish are bigger than the fishermen.

Experienced bird watchers come from all over the world to Point Pelee National Park, a protected gathering point for hundreds of bird species. From here you can also see spectacular biannual migrations.

For more information on Outdoors in Ontario write: Ministry of Natural Resources, Natural Resources Information Centre, Room 911-73, Macdonald Block, 909 Bay Street, Toronto, Ont. M5A 3C7



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Festivals & Events



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Over one hundred street performers from around the globe will make the streets of Downtown Kingston come alive on July 7 & 8 & 9 during the 10th Annual Kingston Buskers Rendezvous. Talented jugglers, magicians, musicians, comedians and dancers - many performers from World Expo, World Fair and other major festivals will perform for one and all!

Grown up and decided only as buskers make from one day music location to another. In the evening, Ontario Street located between Jones, Len Hall and the waterfront park, becomes a stage for the thrills of dancing and free throwing. With numerous acts showcasing at all ages from teen, walk from one performance to another.

For information call: (613) 543-6677

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Tickets and Information:
1-800-567-1609

Oldsmobile Touring Tips



Before leaving on your vacation trip, visit your local General Motors dealer and have them check your oil, brakes, muffler and tires.

When returning about at hotels and motels, ask about their special rates and programmes for children.

Remember to pack an extra set of car keys in a safe place.

Make sure all the road maps for your route are up-to-date.

Call your Provincial Transportation Ministry to get a list of road closures, detours and construction activities. Studying these problems will save you time and make your trip much more enjoyable.

If you're driving with children, take these favorite foods or specially prepared activity books with you to keep them busy. And don't forget a supply of snacks and drinks (and a supply of paper towels for crumbs and spills).

Take this vacation guide with you to check out points of interest and the festivals and events taking place along the way.

Remember to stop and take a break every two to three hours to stretch your legs and refresh yourself. This is important for passengers, not just the driver. Plan your stops in an alternate way places of interest along the way.

Drive safely
and have a great holiday.


Oldsmobile

"Maybe You Should Name It Oldsmobile's Oldsmobile."



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WORLD

Letter from Mexico

Back to the future

It was a fine spring afternoon, the *posadas* were in full purple bloom across Mexico City, as Carlos Salinas de Gortari sat in his office in the Los Pinos presidential compound. A few hours later, an assassin would shoot and kill Luis Donaldo Colosio Murrieta, the presidential candidate at the recent Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) and Salinas's favored, protégé and liegeman. But at the time, Salinas was a relaxed man, a man who spoke with foreign reporters that sunny afternoon, Salinas was blissfully unaware of the calamity to come. The president talked proudly about his efforts to divide Mexico from the Third World, about the accomplishments of free trade with Canada and the United States, about the work that remained to make Mexico a modern democracy. The next spoke confidently about his country's 10-year growth record, southern Chiapas state, which he claimed to have handled deftly by deciding to negotiate with the rebels rather than destroy them. Indeed, as he contemplated the end of his six-year presidential term next December, Salinas appeared content; with the place he had created for himself in Mexican history.

But an assassin's bullet may have reflexively changed all that. A few days later, a few drivers skidded his black sedan at high speed from one lane to the other of Mexico City's busy Periferico auto route and spun his theory that the president himself had masterminded the March 20 assassination of Colosio. In addition, even a few days can be an eternity. And with the murder of Colosio, Salinas's reputation—already tarnished by economic recession and the Chiapas revolt—ran in tailspin. Later revelations that Colosio's killer may have had help—the government-appointed special investigator now claims that at least seven people took part in the murder—only made the conspiracy advocates case convinced that the country's governing elite were behind it all.

It Salinas's reputation was sullied, so, too, was the reputation of the country that he had tried to remake. Mexico looms, the newspapers churned after the assassination, had reassessed itself. The phrase denotes a wild and rough-edged Mexico, the Mexico of Pancho Villa and more than a century of war and revolution. In the country's first 35 years, 56 successive governments tried to rule it. More than half

its territory was lost in war to the United States. Assassination and execution were the accepted mechanisms of political change. "They had about 100 years of continuous revolution," said Don Mackay, a diplomat at the Canadian Embassy. "They lost one-fifth of the population. In Canada and the United States, we have short memories. But in Mexico, they have very long memories."

They are memories of a past that Mexico has worked hard to leave behind, taking pride in the stability that the PRI has brought to the past 35 years, since it was founded in the wake of the country's last high-level political assassination. Now, suddenly, in the corner of less than three months, the tumultuous past seems to have come back. In Mexico's political atmosphere, it had slid back towards Latin America from its heyday as a North American nation.

Business executives have expressed confidence that Mexico will remain a good place for investment, despite the recent troubles. "I think Mexico is bigger than that,"

said Douglas Clark, president of the Canada Mexico Chamber of Commerce. But if Clark is wrong—there are more than five years until he goes to face the Aug. 30 presidential election and the trouble in Chiapas is far from settled—then Mexico's hope for continued stability will fade, as will its hopes for prosperity.

There are larger bills at stake among the poor of rural Mexico. While the government claims progress in bringing potable water, education and new roads to outposts, there remain two distinct Mexicos. There is the Mexico of the quiet, tree-lined streets in the capital's Polanco district where the Canadian Embassy is located and of the smart shops and international hotels in the Zona Rosa. The second Mexico is found on the faces of the street kids in Chiapas who sleep alone for two pesos, or of the Indian women in Mexico City who leave their babies sleeping in a basket on a dirty piece of the sidewalk or in a dirty piece of the street.

Rev. Pablo Ruzma, head of the human rights centre of the Mexican Catholic Church in San Cristóbal de las Casas, says that half the population in Chiapas works for less than the minimum wage of roughly \$4 a day. And about 500 families, he says, own much of the arable land, leaving little for Indian peasants sponsored as to landless. Lorenzo Meyer, a professor of history and political science at the Colegio de México, expressed shock at the conditions in Chiapas. But he noted that similar poverty also exists in the shanty towns of Mexico City. "The map, the change, between the two Mexicos is incredible," said Meyer.

In the early days of the negotiations that would lead to the North American Free Trade Agreement, Salinas told Mackay's that it would take a generation for the benefits of free trade to work through the system. While introducing economic reforms, Salinas has moved more cautiously on political reforms that might unsettle the PRI and his power base, as happened in the Soviet Union under Mikhail Gorbachev. But as the demands of his presidency, Salinas is discovering how difficult such a juggling act is, and how important Mexicans can be.

WARREN CARAGATA in Mexico City



Rebel leader Marcorra in peasant uprising

World NOTES



Jewish victim of Hamas bus bombings: warnings of more revenge attacks in case

Bloody anniversary

It was supposed to be a day of joy and celebration, the 49th anniversary of Israel's founding. But for some Jews in the central town of Hebron, April 15 was instead a day of sadness and mourning. While many residents drove to parties for traditional holiday barbecues, blue-and-white national flags flapping from car antennas, others gathered in a cemetery to bury three of the five people killed the day before when an Arab suicide bomber exploded a bomb in a crowded bus. More than 30 others were injured. One week earlier, another suicide bomber killed seven Israelis and wounded 40 in the northern town of Afula. The Orthodox Islamic Hamas group said that both attacks were in reprisal for the February 25 massacre of at least 29 Arabs praying in a Hebron mosque by a Jewish settler—and it warned Israelis to expect more "psycho-venge" bombings.

Prime Minister Ehud Barak called the Hebron bombing a despicable murder, but added that he was determined not to allow Hamas to seek the Israeli-Palestinian peace deal signed in September. "There are those who say the price takes time to be stopped," he said. "What then will lead to it more directly than the terror?" In a show of support for Barak's peace moves, a few dozen

Jewish army generals staged a vigil at Tel Aviv's David Ben-Gurion Square. Shimon Peres, a congress member at the occasion, right-wing Likud party "Without peace there's no security."

Around the spreading violence, Israel raised an April 15 deadline to complete a troop withdrawal from the occupied Gaza Strip and the West Bank west of Jericho. But in Gaza, negotiations for Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization resumed progress in their talks on Palestinian autonomy. Both sides agreed on all details of a 9,000-strong Palestinian force to police Gaza and Jericho. And they agreed that 5,000 of its estimated 8,500 Palestinian prisoners held by Israel will be freed. Palestinian negotiator Nabil Shawmeh said that the two sides would agree within 10 working days on crossing points into the self-rule areas, rules for military operations, joint patrols and more.

Although the peace process appeared to be moving ahead, however haltingly, the continuing threat of Islamic extremist violence continued to make Israeli Jews yearn for a time of great fear. Many Jews. Hamas activists recently scribbled a dire warning on walls at the West Bank town of Jerusalem: "Yesterday's story and today's incidents, today's bullets and today's trapped cars... and tomorrow"

FRIENDLY FIRE TRAGEDY

Two U.S. Air Force F-15C jets enforcing a no-fly zone over northern Iraq mistakenly shot down two U.S. Black Hawk military helicopters, killing all 26 crewmen and passengers. Pentagon officials said that electronic signal equipment aboard the helicopters, which should have identified them to the jets, did not do so. But the accident happened at close quarters in daylight, raising questions about military procedures. President Bill Clinton expressed "terrible sorrow" for the tragedy and promised a thorough investigation.

SMALL BUT LETHAL

Russian scientists have designed a miniature nuclear bomb the size of a baseball, according to a report on Britain's independent Channel Four. They allegedly developed a neutron weapon, which destroys human life with radiation but leaves buildings intact, using a compound not mercury. If true, the development of radioactive mercury is an extraordinary scientific breakthrough, which has eluded American researchers for 40 years. Sam Cohen, a U.S. nuclear scientist and inventor of the neutron bomb in the 1960s, said: "I find the entire business terrifying."

A RISING BODY COUNT

British police charged suspected serial killer Frederick Iles with a 12th murder after discovering human remains buried in a cemetery. The remains are believed to be that of his first wife, Catherine, who has been missing for more than 20 years. In March, police dug up the decomposed bodies of nine women under West's house in Gloucester, in western England.

CANADIAN DEPORTED

Officials in the former Soviet republic of Belarus deported a Canadian who planned to run for the country's presidency in June. Alexander Prashynski, 40, was born in an area in what was East Poland but now is in Belarus. The former Toronto newspaper editor said that he has been denied Belarusian citizenship on the grounds that he is a Canadian.

RUSSIAN MOB WAR

Gunsman burst into a Moscow apartment and killed married crime boss Vladimir Chudakov and his wife, the latest victims of a mob war in the Russian capital. A week earlier, mobster Oleg Kostomarov was shot to death as he was leaving a public bath. Criminal gangs have flourished since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 and gun battles and assassinations have become commonplace as rival "mafia" groups vie for turf.



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GETTING CREDIT

Canadian banks are pressured to improve their small business lending practices

Lakefield, nestled on the banks of the Trent-Riverside Waterway midway between Toronto and Ottawa, appears to be an idyllic small town. From the vine-covered terraces of the gravelled old brick houses on its winding tree-lined streets to the neat grounds of Lakefield Collegiate School, the exclusive school that Prince Andrew attended in 1977, the town seems far removed from the ravages of the recession. But behind the pleasant facade, town businesses are facing the same lack of debt-funding credit crunches that have rendered many other communities across the country. Lakefield's two banks have slashed credit small business creditlines and have refused to renew commercial mortgages for businesses that have never raised a bank penny. Rick Lyons, who operates several small town-related ventures in the area, including tourism and travel guides, says that his bank, in Peterborough, still refused his request for a \$15,000 operating credit line to buy desktop publishing equipment and to hire his own last winter. His credit request was refused even though he has a well-established track record and only \$8,000 in other debt. Lyons, who is also general manager of the local chamber of com-

merce, was able to get the cash he needed from his family. "Voluntarily," said Lyons. "Some of our members just don't have anyone else to turn to but a previously 'friendly' banker who double-crossed the community in good days and then wrenched out the top skin when the recession hit."

The problems of Lakefield's businesses are typical of those in just about every community across Canada. When the recession began in 1990, bankers began tightening their lending. As the recession deepened they became even more aggressive about recovering money extended to business owners judged to be in jeopardy. They also began to take a much tougher look at the condition of those they were lending to, scrutinizing even minor problems were enough to warrant a credit on hold. The banks will not say how easy small business loans were cut during that period, but according to the most reliable, but still imperfect, statistics available from the Bank of Canada, banks reduced

their lending to independent business by more than 50 billion to \$17.5 billion by the end of 1992 during the worst of the recession. Saul Devans Mills, Liberal MP for the Toronto riding of Broadview/Greenwood. "A lot of small business people got it in the neck from their banker, right at the time they needed help most."

Mills is just one member of a Liberal government that promised to take a hard look at the banks' small business lending practices. The Red Bank, the Liberal Party's campaign document, stated that there are about 900,000 small and medium-sized enterprises in Canada which employ a total of 4.2 million people. These businesses, furthermore, accounted for 40 per cent of the new job creation in the 1980s. In the government's first hard-look released in February, Finance Minister Paul Martin emphasized the role of independent business in facilitating the domestic recovery. And last month, the House of Commons industry committee began official hearings on small and medium-sized business financing. This week and next, the committee will hear from the banking community after weeks of collecting testimony from frustrated and angry small business owners. Susan Del-

"The only good banker I ever saw was in it's a Wonderful Life. George Bailey. But most of the bankers we have across this country are the Potters."

John Grant, president of Maple Leaf Life Insurance, speaking before the House of Commons industry committee

Canadians industry committee began official hearings on small and medium-sized business financing. This week and next, the committee will hear from the banking community after weeks of collecting testimony from frustrated and angry small business owners. Susan Del-

lan, who operates an import credit store in downtown Toronto, says that, to date, the banks clearly passed their financial problems on to the government. "It was a double loss for government," notes Bellan, a former economist. "The revenues fell and unemployment and welfare costs soared. In small businesses, I believe. If our social welfare system needs to be revised, so does our banking system."

For their part, the banks are quick to defend themselves against charges of overly aggressive credit tightening. Saul D. Catlin, vice-president of independent business at the Toronto Dominion Bank: "Lending is a low-margin, high-risk business. We don't share in the success of a business, but if it fails we can lose everything we're loaned. We can't afford a lot of losses." Catlin says that banks generally make a spread of three percentage points on their loans to small business. That means that for every dollar that they lend, they expect to get a return of three cents after an expected loss ratio equal to about half of one cent during normal economic conditions. "Out of the remainder," said Catlin, "we have to cover our operating expenses and generate a return for shareholders." During the recession, average bank losses rose to a high of more than 1.2 cents for every dollar loaned. Bankers argue, therefore, that for every small business that has a bad experience with its bank there are many that have good ones. "I sometimes get wrong at a business the bank is always the first to be blamed," said Catlin. "But the majority of our relationships are solid



Smaller, Sandy and Rick Lyons (top): Lending the pop between small businesses and big banks

and we do have money to lend."

Rachel and Sandy Lyons who own Landscaping Ltd., a landscaping and greenhouse company that also develops and sells seeds added to the harsher northern climates, are happy with their bank. Rachel Lyons and their branch of the Bank of Montreal in Watrous has always been helpful, and that their bank manager "often offers in the community, has been there for several years. Our bank manager knows us and he's

taken the time to understand our business," she said. "It all comes down to whether they believe in what you're doing. Business isn't just about numbers on paper." Lyons says that if it were the bank goes out of its way for them. This month, for example, the bank is promoting personal loans for landscaping and wanted DeLor to meet a promotional display in the branch. But bank president has not returned from other business people in the community. Lyons knows that the company is valued able to its bank. "It seems that people rather have a good relationship with their bank or a familiar face, there is a middle ground," she said. "Accountants have told us that we should do business with more than one bank, just in case something goes wrong. It'd be more comfortable if there were other banks here providing the same level of service."

The government's emphasis on small business has certainly been noticed by the banking community, which is now scrambling to regain the confidence of its clients. Lyons, Bellan and the Liberals, Helen Sinclair, president of the Canadian Bankers' Association, says that the federal government has two budget committees, one parliamentary committee and about 30 other task forces and studies, all doing this small business business. "Is that overkill or not?" asks Sinclair.

Certainly in recent months, the banks have involved attention—or at least some reassurance—on the small and medium-sized business sector. In fact, two banks have just announced the creation of an internal small business or relationship panel to review complaints from independent business customers. In addition, several new lending initiatives have recently been launched. Last week, the Royal Bank of Canada announced that it was creating a new small business fund with \$225 million, to invest in medium-sized businesses operating in key knowledge-based or export-oriented industries. The program is aimed at meeting the needs that many companies have for equity capital. At the same time, it addresses the bank's problem of high-risk, low-reward lending in their loan portfolios. Instead of using these funds to make loans to the companies as a traditional bank would, the venture capital fund will be used to buy equity stakes in various small companies. This way they will benefit from not having to make loan payments on these funds during the startup period, while the bank will be entitled to a portion of any of the gains that the companies make if they succeed.

For the Royal, the announcement of the new venture fund just two weeks before Charles Collyer, senior vice-president of business banking, is scheduled to appear before

the industry coalition's meeting in Ottawa. But Gellay dismisses the threat as conjecture. "There have been a lot of announcements recently and I do wonder how real some of them are," he said. "But this is a substantive program, the timing of the announcement is purely coincidental."

So far, the Bank of Montreal seems to be leading the pack at appealing to small business accounts. One of its first initiatives was a special rate of six per cent below prime, launched in 1993. "No matter how you cut it, small business in Canada," said Ron Rogers, senior executive vice-president of personal and commercial financial services. "It's this bank's No. 1 priority." He noted that the bank's share of the small business market has climbed six percentage points to 30 per

cent since 1989 as a result of the bank's new attention to that market. In part, however, the Bank of Montreal was able to take such an aggressive lending approach because it had alienated parts of the small business market in the 1980s with some unpopular policy changes and, as a result, had a smaller proportion of the small business market when the recession began.

Nonetheless, the banks are all grappling with the question of lending to the evergreen-souled knowledge-based industries, such as software design and computer services, in which the assets are people and ideas—not equipment and real estate.

Q: If you had to start all over again, what would you wish for?
A: If I had to begin again, I would become a bank.

Tom Hanna, president of Hanna Group, lending before the House of Commons Industry Committee

Bernard Turko, a lawyer in Brampton who has represented many small and medium-sized businesses, believes that it is that right asset-based lending approach that largely contributed to the severity of credit crunch. Unlike many U.S. banks that are so-called venture lenders, losing their loans as a company's long-term prospects, Canadian lenders are traditionally based on hard asset values. Canadian banks prefer to reduce their risk as much as possible by making loans only if they are secured by tangible assets worth more than the money they lend. During the recession—when many assets, especially real estate, fell

in value—banks came under pressure to reduce their loans proportionately. Head offices instructed their regional networks of branch managers and credit officers to either reduce the size of many outstanding business loans or to have their customers put up more assets as security for the loans.

Clearly, branch staff were under pressure from above. "There were times," said Turko, "when we were dealing with bankers who were worried about losing their own jobs." Bellia, whose own company suffered but managed to escape closure, adds: "It is in me to see my account manager and I realized that he was terrified of me. When he looked at me all he could see was a big RBC sign flashing over my head. Entrepreneurs are risk takers and banks are risk-averse."

Now, as the banks begin the process of

re-examining their entrenched asset-based approach to lending, they are starting with the industries that are expected to thrive in the economy of the information age. "They're beginning to try some experimental things, especially in the Rochester Valley technology triangle," said Mr. Miller. "It's a good thing, too. Bill Gates wouldn't have been financed by a Canadian bank." Gates is the 38-year-old wunderkind who became one of the richest men in the United States after founding software giant Microsoft Corp. in 1978.

However, the banks redoubt their efforts now, their record during the recession has left a bitter legacy. In Lislefield, Rick Lyons notes that other local business people have had an even harder time than he has wouldering the storm. A few shops have already

closed and several more are teetering on the verge of failure. Relations with the banks in the town are so tense that when the owner of a video rental outlet suddenly committed suicide in his store in February, other shopkeepers immediately speculated that it was caused by the credit crunch. His family says that it does not have any other answer. Still, his brother Mark Medford: "Business was slow. He had a back loan. He had borrowed some money from me. I don't have any proof, but all I can figure out is that he was under financial pressure." But for others in the small-business community, a growing awareness of such pressures and the government's commitment to address them may bring some relief.

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BUSINESS

'The king of sewing machines'

While many business tycoons have overseen personalities in such of their sprawling business empires, James Ting is an exception—and highly successful—exception. Over the last decade, the slight and sophisticated chairman of International Semi-Tech Machinery Inc. has transformed this Canada-based company from a small computer maker into a \$3.2-billion global consumer products conglomerate. It controls some of the most familiar brand names in the world, including The Singer Company N.Y. and Japan's Sanyo Electric Co. Ltd. Last week, in three days of meetings with financial analysts and reporters in Toronto and New York City, Ting, 43, looked in the glow of the \$600-million 1990 report reported by Semi-Tech (Shanghai) Co. Ltd., Semi-Tech's 40-per-cent owned affiliate. He also announced that he has \$1 billion in cash (but he won't use it to buy other companies) but as Ting joked from one city to the next, and then back to Hong Kong, where he now resides most of the year, he was hardly slowing in the glamorous life. "I have no luggage. No private plane. No swimming," he said. "The only couple of hours I have left."

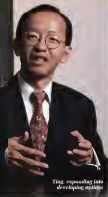
One of the goals of the public relations blitz was an attempt to get investors more interested in Semi-Tech's prospects. Despite healthy profits at its largest subsidiaries and affiliates—Singer, Sanyo and the German industrial sewing machine manufacturer G.M. Plett AG—the price of Semi-Tech's shares on the Toronto Stock Exchange is languishing around \$18, down about \$3 a share.

Over the last year ago, in part, that reflects the difficulty some investors still have in grasping the company's complex structure and its far-flung operations in over 100 countries around the world. Based in Markham, Ont., near Toronto, Semi-Tech owns 40 per cent of Sanyo Tech (Shanghai), based in Hong Kong, which in turn owns 72 per cent of Plett and 40 per cent of Sanyo Ltd. In a \$1 billion transaction, the shifted Semi-Tech's 50-per-cent ownership interest in Singer to the Markham-based parent from the Hong Kong company. "Singer is now owned by Canadians," said Ting. "It gives the Canadian shareholders a better feeling."

Despite Semi-Tech's flashy sounding name, it is anything but a leading-edge high technology company. Founder Ting was born in Shanghai, but he family fled Communist China for Hong Kong, then Canada when he was a teen. Ting, who became a Canadian citizen when he arrived as a student in 1961, he had a partner, Frank Holmes, one of his professors and lecturers at the University of Toronto, where he obtained a degree in electrical engineering. He invested \$3,000 in savings from scholar-ship in the venture. During the early years, the company assembled microcomputers.

But in 1980, Ting took credit of established Singer for \$375 million. That put him in charge of a consumer products company with 80,000 employees and a worldwide distribution network. At the time, Singer was widely discredited as a money losing dinosaur. Ting moved his family back to Hong Kong shortly after the acquisition to be closer to his rapidly expanding operations in China and Vietnam. Since he took over, Singer has earned profits for 30 straight quarters. It has done so by successfully marketing sewing machines, refrigerators and other electronic goods and appliances to mostly poor rural customers in Thailand, India and dozens of other developing countries.

Ting jokingly calls himself "the king of sewing machines" but he means that selling appliances in emerging countries is one of the most challenging—and profitable—businesses he can think of. "What you in Canada see as not what the world sees," Ting explained. "There are people in the world who still need sewing machines and other products." The world's population is 4.5 billion, said Ting. "You take away North America, Japan and Eu-



Ting, expanding into developing markets

rope, there are still 3.5 billion people in the less-developed or developing stage."

But selling in developing countries often requires unique skills. Singer relies mostly on a technique the company introduced in the United States in the 1980s—allowing customers to pay by instalments in Thailand alone, Singer has about one million credit accounts worth between \$500 and \$2,000 and an army of agents who dress up business and collect payments on a commission only basis. Still, granting credit there is a different process. Ting is in North America. "You ask a man how many wives he has, how many children, how many kids he's moved in the past year," said Ting. "We don't really evaluate a customer's net worth or anything like that."

Ting's next target is China. Semi-Tech has had manufacturing operations in the country since the mid-1980s. Last year, Ting obtained permission from the government to set up a consumer credit company—a first for a foreigner in China. As a pilot project, Singer placed a small advertisement in a Shanghai newspaper last fall in the hope of attracting 500 customers. The ad also produced 10,000 inquiries and Ting said the next step will be to set up 1,000 accounts. He added, "I think within the next few years we should get to several hundred thousand."

Over the years, Ting's extensive dealings in China have spawned persistent rumors in Bay Street that the Chinese government would use an inordinate amount of influence

over Semi-Tech. But Ting dismisses those allegations. "There is no Chinese involvement at all," said Ting. "About 90 per cent of our shareholders are Canadian institutional investors." He added, "I think the reason why this type of rumor may develop is because China's very hot and we have a lot of business there." As for the risks and ethics involved in dealing with an authoritarian regime, Ting says that those also must be put in context. Said Ting: "When you do business in developing countries, you have to put up with certain things that is normal of the culture you operate in. It's worth it."

Ting's biggest concern at the moment is what to do with Semi-Tech's \$1 billion in cash. He said that he is looking for a company similar to what Singer was like in 1980—one that "already has operations in developing countries and is not doing very well."

With his focus on overseas operations, it is natural to ponder why Ting still maintains Semi-Tech's headquarters in an industrial park south of Toronto. The company only has about 100 Canadian employees, and Ting himself lives in Hong Kong with his wife and two young sons. But Ting views never to relocate Semi-Tech "because this is my adopted country. All of my roots are here." And as he moves on to greater heights in Asia, Europe and Latin America, Ting is clearly hoping that he will be applauded a little more in North America.

JOHN DALL

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SPORTS



NHL in the sunshine

Main events are set to begin, on and off the ice

Gary Bettman was fired, with good reason. The 42-year-old New Yorker, who has been commissioner of the National Hockey League for a little more than a year, was in Tampa, Fla., for seven days last week after an overnight flight from Vancouver. Not instead of going to bed, he was looking to see the Tampa Bay Lightning play the New York Islanders. Hockey games cracked him that, small troubles aside, the sport is thriving. The Lightning, for instance, finished the season well below .500, did not make the playoffs and still drew an 81st record average 20,821 fans per game in the Thunder Dome. "It's 99 degrees in Tampa," Bettman said, "and there will be more than 20,000 people watching hockey."

As the playoffs begin this week, Bettman had good reason to be upbeat about the NHL as a sport and the 2000-2001 season in particular. Not locked to seven new franchises in Miami and Anaheim, Calif. Compared with recent years, when NHL games appeared on U.S. network and cable television, nearly every TV apartment in North America shared Wayne Gretzky overlooking Gordie Howe's career goals record in March. And although the collective agreement between the NHL and its players expired last fall, locking the players in position to strike, the negotiations have so far eschewed the sort of extraordinary rhetoric that led to the players' delaying walkout of 2000. It's a little early to make a break statement on how Mr. Bettman has done as commissioner, and Toronto Maple Leafs president Cliff



Gretzky (left) with Leafs coach Pat Burns. Calgary's Newsworld scoring (right) no strike 'at this time'

Flather. "But the consensus seems to be that he has done a good job."

On the ice, the regular season was a competitive, if not unexciting, success. Despite the addition of two more teams—the fourth and fifth expansion franchises to join the league in three years—the only real pathogens were the two-year-old Ottawa Senators. The rock in Florida Panthers and Anaheim Mighty Ducks unexpectedly controlled for playoff spots and the final weeks of the season. And their often lackluster, defensive style of play failed to stem the ardor of newblood fans. In fact, in all five starter cities in which the NHL and the National Basketball Association go head-to-head—Miami, Dallas, Anaheim, Los Angeles and San Jose, Calif.—hockey drew more fans per game.

The top-rated team going into the playoffs

the New York Rangers, in spite of missing hopes of the first Stanley Cup on Broadway in 54 years. Led by centre Mark Messier and defencemen Brian Leetch, the Rangers have depth, scoring and toughness. They will need all of that just to advance from the Eastern Conference, which includes the defending champion Montreal Canadiens, Mario Lemieux's Pittsburgh Penguins and the surprising New Jersey Devils, who have blossomed into contenders under first-year coach Jacques Lemaire.

The Western Conference outlook is even cloudier. The Detroit Red Wings dominated the conference standings and boast the dynamic duo of Steve Yzerman and Sergei Fedorov. The Toronto Maple Leafs, last year's playoff underdogs, will again put their hopes on scrappy centre Doug Gilmour and goaltender Felix Potvin. The sleeper may be the Calgary Flames—captain Joe Mullen has recovered from a knee injury and the team has improved under coach Dave King.

No less work to be done by the players, they can be reasonably assured that the two-month marathon will not be interrupted by labor strife. Bettman and Bob Goodenow, executive director of the NHL players' association, have kept a lid on their negotiations. "I am the only person authorized to speak for the owners," Bettman asserted. The players, meanwhile, are ready to give the two chief negotiators time to work things out, said Toronto winger Mike Gartner, president of the players' association. "We have been pursuing our goals through collective bargaining," Gartner said. "We do not, at this time, think that a strike is necessary."

The contentious issue is player salaries, which have dramatically increased to an average of \$520,000 this season from \$270,000 in 1990. The owners say that escalating pay rolls put NHL hockey, already a shaky proposition in small markets, on the endangered species list in cities such as Hartford, Conn., Quebec City, Winnipeg and Edmonton. As a result, the league's governors want any agreement to include cost-cutting measures. "We have not asked for a salary cap," Bettman said. "We want a system that enables all teams to be competitive and one that takes salaries to revenues and works for both the players and the owners." The players, in turn, want to ensure the owners get their agency—worth the owners' say would increase salaries. Only after believing that gap can Bettman get on with capitalizing on the game's increased popularity. "We have marketing and business plans in hand, and we are ready to move forward," he said, "and we will have the league to get done."

ANDREW DICKSON

Schooling for success

Toronto feminists have customized a radical new curriculum for girls

At 15, Alexandra Sutherland talks about school with the air of a wise young veteran. When she started in kindergarten in Toronto's Riverside Public School, things seemed fine. "We would get together with the boys and play massive games of tag," says Sutherland. But by Grade 6, playful teasing from the sports team suddenly had a new sting and she became too self-conscious to play. Her help in sixth class, Sutherland's mother, Mary Elliott, enrolled her daughter in St. Clare's School, a private girls' academy. The pressure of being around boys disappeared, but Sutherland was turned off by the competitive and socially stratified environment. In her seventh year, she switched to Strachan Public, an alternative school where students design their own curriculum—and found that she and her 45 classmates had little in common. In Grade 9, Sutherland found a traditional high school Northern Secondary. But when she customized a monomaniacal, the school revised many of her ideas and turned her "like a number" "While recovering in bed, Sutherland read an advertisement for a new private girls' school with a feminist bent. Called The Linden School, a clinical sexologist wanted to develop their "sense of self" by encouraging noncompetitive learning—like by having an afternoon essay on women's role in history, science and the arts. After one meeting, Sutherland was excited to help plan the new school. Soon after, she enrolled. "We work together on our education," says Sutherland. "It's an adventure."

By pushing feminism to the top of its agenda, The Linden School is challenging the male structure and content of what girls learn. With a number of high-profile supporters, including philosopher Nancy Jackson and author Katherine Gerson, Linden draws strong how parents, educators and community members can customize a school to fit a shared ideal. As the first of its kind in Canada,



Linden students, Moore and Goudie (left): 'sometime in Grade 4 is capable of changing the whole pushback here'



moore Goudie and Eleanor Moore, two former private-school teachers who opened Linden to its first 45 students in grades 4 to 10, but left. Changing lives of 58,000, they found a misanthropic rate of 8.1. For Goudie, who met with resistance when she tried to implement her program ideas in her employer's school in the fall of 1991, the goal is to design a system in which young women will thrive. "The hierarchy and constraints of regular schools," says Goudie, "are designed to serve boys."

While some educators disagree with Goudie's premise, or protest how Linden is simply teaching social techniques that others already use, few can dispute the grassroots call to her self-proclaimed revolution. Indeed, parents and students play a key role in ensuring that the school's philosophy is put into

practice. "Liberty, a lawyer, has donated books, a piano and her time to raise funds. It's different having my mother involved as my school," says Sutherland. "But this place is different." In playful conversation, Goudie's book lists the feminist background in her revolution. Students enter through a narrow alley behind a variety store and dry-cleaning outlet. Classes take place on the third floor of a nondescript building that looks better suited to housing food supplies than young women. But after examining a series of colorful stairs, visitors suddenly encounter a hallway decorated with feminist quotes and banners of lavender. "It's a girl color," according to one young student.

And "female" means power in the corridors of Linden. Textbooks by and about women line most of the shelves. Male authority who to appear on course lists are often selected for their negative portrayal of women and feminism. "After reading about evil witches," says Moore, returning to Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, "we talk about the witch as a leader in medieval society." In fact, Linden's leaders want to create a completely "woman-centered" curriculum. "We

call it a feminist version of history," says Grade 4 student Lara Reborevich. "Instead of looking at men, we look at what the women were doing back then." One assignment asks the student to take on the persona of a housewife-mad woman, such as Jane of Arc, and to write an essay from her perspective.

Goudie and Moore are also firm believers in the idea that *how* schools teach young women is as important as what they teach them. As proof, the co-principals point to the work of such researchers as Carol Gilligan, a Harvard professor of education, who argues that most girls lose their "voice," or sense of self-esteem, once they reach puberty. Such findings, backed up with firsthand evidence, prompted Bonnie Mills to send Caden 12, to Linden. "Caden was becoming withdrawn in her public school," says Mills. "I wanted to get her away from that kind of competition and hierarchy. She felt really stress more confident."

Still, many educators bristle at the notion that what Linden is offering is revolutionary. "Our girls work in collaborative groups for math class. We have an active Third Wave Club that focuses on feminist issues," says Jane Torenstein, headmistress of the all-girl Bishop Strachan School in Toronto. "Why all this fuss about Linden?" Barbara Ambrose, principal of Montreal's Tridelta School for Girls, echoes Goudie's sentiment. "Every girls' school in Canada works to teach an equal, equitable environment," says Ambrose. "We might not be believing feminists, but we are not a feminist school either."

Others challenge the entire notion that no longer girls from boys can be different—let alone different. "We recognize the differences and use equal stature to those differences," says Paul Rutherford, headmaster of coed RCS Northwood in Redwood, N.B. "If girls' strengths are rewarded here, they learn to feel good about themselves and the school." In 1986, David Hadden, headmaster of Lakefield College School near Peterborough, Ont., led the fight in transforming his school into a co-ed atmosphere—so as to benefit his male students. Boys' schools, insists Hadden, reinforce aggressive behavior, and the notion that girls are second-class. "It's very hard to bring up in that environment," he says. "It's a conspiracy."

Linden's leaders are clearly determined to keep boys out—not to encourage the fostering of distinctly progressive ideas. Parents are quizzed on their attitudes towards a

host of social issues before their daughters are admitted. Moore acknowledges that one girl was rejected partly because her father was openly disturbed by his son's lesbian lifestyle. "We will not deal with anyone who has racist or homophobic beliefs," asserts Moore.

Linden's teachers, too, must commit themselves to taking a socially different approach to education. "We don't believe in top-down power," says Goudie. "We don't have a top-down power in Grade 4 is capable of changing the whole pushback here." Moore points to a recent staff seminar that stressed group decision-making in the classroom. "Young women are intrinsically absorbed by relationships," says Moore. "To say, 'Keep it out of the classroom,' invalidates them as women. They are very aware of sexism in the regular school system."

Indeed, some might argue that Linden students are almost the mirror of sexism. Even the youngest girls can create a litany of horrible stories about their lack of volition in a male-dominated world. "My old music teacher used to pick songs that were a sexist," says year-old Sophie Perry. "I remember one song that had almost nothing about women in it. I was singing feminist, so I wrote a song about that kind of sexism." For 11-year-old Sara Kinsman, the self-proclaimed student of a former gym teacher after a boy made her position as a basketball field prompted her to call up the equity officer at the Toronto Board of Education. "I had to keep fighting for my rights then," she says. "Everyone here is feminist except for one girl who is really sexist." Hearing this, Grade 8 student Alexandra O'Donnell sighs and shakes her head. "That's what makes me so sick about this school," says O'Donnell. "In every discussion, someone is accused of being sexist." But Kinsman shrugs back. "She says she's a lesbian, but she's gay." "Somebody like that does not belong here."

For some Linden students, however, men are the one thing missing from an otherwise perfect school. "I would love to have the same school with guys and girls," says one Grade 10 student, and a chorus of boys. "We could have another side of the story," she adds decisively. "I think the environment would be richer."

But, with feminism at the very core of its identity, Linden has its focus clear. Once a week, the students and faculty discuss how to banish the voice of other women and organize activities to promote progressive social causes. The bulletin board in ladies with articles on women's issues and notices of related events. For parents and teachers, the commitment can be relaxing. But for certain students, it is the results appear to be liberating. As Moore laments about the main office, a little girl badly walks in and throws a cork in her direction. "I'm quite proud of this," she says simply. Moore says what she is doing is to ensure the pace of an "active right" she "I would be proud of this too." In the world of Goudie and Moore, a young woman's petrie is a precious commodity.



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The greying of the greens

The environmental movement loses support and money

To mark Earth Day on April 22, tens of thousands of Canadians joined this week in just in community cleanup and recycling projects, plant trees and hike along nature trails with their kids. In Winipeg, Pamela Logan, a professional events coordinator, was in charge of the city's celebration, including an interactive Science Service on Sunday at St. Boniface Cathedral. Earth Day, says Logan, provides "a chance to get some reinforcement that the things people are doing for the environment—like riding bicycles to work, recycling and reusing—really do make a difference." This year's event marks the 25th anniversary of the first Earth Day, an estimated protest on April 1970. And it comes at a time when the environmental movement—which has won support and funding through recent years—in some respects, less controversial and more business-like than in the past. Putting a positive spin on the changes, Pam Dwyer, vice-president of communications for the World Wildlife Fund Canada, says that the difference now is that Canadian environmental concerns have "become

more a given than they used to be, more part of the way people live their lives."

Some environmental issues, of course, still arouse public passions. The increasingly bitter battle over the old growth forest at British Columbia's Clayoquot Sound has resulted in the arrests of hundreds of road-blocking protesters. The issue has divided Canada's media internationally and prompted a campaign

by Greenpeace International for a boycott of cleared forest products. In general, though, the environmental movement has started fewer protests and produced fewer headlines. For one thing, there has been some progress on a few long-pending problems, such as water and air pollution. For another, the movement has stopped some of the environmentalists' support. And with some scientists challenging sev-

eral of the most alarming ecological scenarios—including the threats supposedly posed by global warming and the thinning of the Earth's ozone layer—the environmental lobby may have lost some credibility through science. "It's the ozone situation," says Peter Desjardins, dean of journalism at the University of Western Ontario in London, in a reference to Vancouver environmentalist and newspaper columnist David Suzuki. "I read in recent articles announcing some new environmental threat. I find that I've heard it all before."

There is no denying the numbers: environmental organizations have experienced a decline in both membership and cash contributions during the past few years. According to Greenpeace Canada officials in Toronto, annual contributions to their organization dropped to about \$7 million from \$10.5 million in 1991, while membership declined to 300,000 from 320,000. Between 1981 and 1992, the Ottawa-based Friends of the Earth saw its income sag to about \$805,000 a year from \$1.2 million, while membership dropped to about 15,000 from 20,000. Both organizations had to lay off staff as a result.

Still, polling experts say that Canadians remain deeply concerned about ecological risk, even if the topic is no longer at the top of the list. According to Margaret Macpherson, who tracks environmental issues for Toronto-based Decima Research, eight of 10 Canadians, when asked, concern about the environment—"a very consistent high level of concern." What is different from a decade ago, estimates Janice Perreault, executive director of Pollution Probe in Toronto, "is that there is more agreement that environmental problems exist and we are into the hard slog of figuring out what to do. The debate is less painful. It used to be."

The message has apparently reached Ottawa. While Brian Mulroney's Conservatives did sign an acid rain treaty with the United States in 1986, they often opposed federal—or, for that matter, provincial—action. Since Chrysler's Toledo tank-carrying prototype to defend the environment—but are strapped with a steepened economy and a massive debt. In February, Finance Minister Paul Martin announced plans to a task force to examine how federal laws, grants and subsidies are used to support industries and policies that harm the

environment. "Politically, cutting subsidies is going to be hard to do," said Perreault. As an example, she cited Newfoundland's offshore oil-burns of project, in which Devon has a 500-million empty share. Jim Folton, a former New Democratic Party member of Parliament, was equally skeptical. "Paul Martin is going to have to shake some federal civil servants out of their core relationships with industry," said Folton, who now is executive director of the Vancouver-based David Suzuki Foundation.

Meanwhile, the list of ecological problems across Canada remains as long as ever. According to the World Wildlife Fund, the action is being taken in the case of 240 acres in B.C. to start development, logging, mining and other enterprises. As a result, 200 animal and plant species are threatened by extinction in Central Canada, activists are pushing for a ban on the discharge of chlorine compounds into the Great Lakes. Wildlife used by the pulp and paper industry, the compounds are suspected of causing cancer, infertility and other human health problems.

On a global level, the Washington-based Worldwatch Institute declared in its 1994 annual report that "population growth, high rates of resource consumption and poverty are driving the global economy towards ecological bankruptcy." Nearly two years have passed since the massive Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro produced agreements aimed at tackling among other things, the threat of global warming and cleaning habitats for natural and plant species. Meanwhile, the Canadian who organized the conference, said last month that so far the follow-up to Rio has been disappointing. "There are hopeful signs but they are not enough," said Strong, who now is chairman of the publicly owned power utility Ontario Hydro.

But over the years, encouraging progress has been made in tackling some environmental problems. In the case of acid rain, Canada

and the United States agreed to take action to persuade fossil fuel burning plants to reduce emissions of sulphur dioxide, the chemical that produces acid rain. In 1993, U.S. utilities have reduced sulphur dioxide emissions by about 30 per cent below 1970 levels, while emissions in Canada have declined even more dramatically—to 60 per cent below levels during the early 1970s, allowing some highly-labeled lakes to recover. "The only bar I have," says David Schindler, an acid management at the University of Alberta, "is that as the economy improves and industries that generate sulphur dioxide grow, levels might creep back up. We have to remain vigilant." Industrialized nations are also rapidly phasing out man-made chemicals that are believed to damage the ozone layer in the Earth's atmosphere, allowing dangerous amounts of ultraviolet light that can cause skin cancer in humans.

But claims that the so-called greenhouse effect—caused by a buildup of carbon dioxide (CO₂) in the earth's atmosphere—could raise global temperatures to dangerous levels have come under attack. According to Richard Lindzen, a professor of meteorology at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Boston, global warming theories are based on the idea that carbon dioxide can cause major climate upheavals. "But CO₂ is actually a minor greenhouse gas," says Lindzen. "Even has 20 times more CO₂ in its atmosphere and it's not warm." He added that forecasts of catastrophic climate change are based on computer models. "Given how bad the models are," he said, "you can predict anything. When you take those things seriously, it's a perversion of scientific responsibility."

Some experts have also challenged the widely publicized notion that over-harvesting in Third World countries has caused a steady expansion of deserts. Images of Africa's southern Sahel region obtained by U.S. weather satellites between 1980 and 1989 showed that the desert's boundary had not shifted significantly, as had been reported. According to M. Fauschella Gifford, a Canadian explorer who leads the US Environmental Program's desertification control program in Nairobi, Kenya, "certain areas began to be eroded up with the idea of desertification" during the 1980s. One of the areas was in Kenya. "The idea of desertification is still there today," says Gifford, "but it's not as bad as it was in the 1980s. The desert is recovering, with some desert reversion across the land." This can happen during periods of drought, Gifford adds, but the land may recover when the rains return. The real problem, he says, is the loss of productivity on land that is overgrazed by desperately poor herders in many regions of the world.

Meanwhile, on the home front, the battle to preserve the environment continues. As Toronto author and journalist Fern Donatoni notes, the environment became a big story a decade ago "but big storms don't go on Canada as a very warm, sunny place was used and that foundation is still there today"—as Canadians will quietly demonstrate as they mark Earth Day across the land.



A cleanup near Windsor, Ont. (opposite), illustrates the Chippewas' concern about ecological issues.

The prizes of war

A Canadian journalist wins double honors for a stark Somalia photo



Watson, his picture of Somalis with the body of a U.S. serviceman (opposite) "the crowd just parted, and I banged off one shot."

When Paul Watson went to work for *The Toronto Star* in 1985, he pursued a dream far removed from his duties as a city-side reporter: to be assigned to Africa. So, during his summer vacation in 1986, he paid his own way to East Africa to cover the civil war in Eritrea. The following year, he spent his vacation covering civil wars in Angola and Sudan and when holiday time rolled around in 1991, he was back in Sudan, reporting on words and pictures the plight of thousands dying of famine. "I wanted to prove to myself and to *Star* editors that I could do it," he says. "I wanted it out as soon as I failed. I failed on my own time." But Watson didn't fail. Two years ago, the *Star* finally gave him the Africa beat, and last week, the 40-year-old Watson had journalism's jackpot: a National Newspaper Award for spot news photography and a second Pulitzer Prize, Canada's first. (In 1993, the *Kalamazoo Journal* received a special Pulitzer citation for fighting Liberia's struggle against war.)

The double accolade was for a picture of a dead, half-naked American serviceman lying in the middle of a road in Somalia where they were dragging his body around Mogadishu with ropes. Watson took the picture last Oct. 3 after a 36-hour battle between Somali gunmen and U.S. helicopter gunships trying to rescue crewmen who had been shot down. *The Star*,



which ran the picture, also gave it to *The Associated Press* wire service, and its appearance in dozens of U.S. newspapers established Watson's eligibility for the Pulitzer. But the photo did more than that—it angered ordinary Americans and may have won a factor in the U.S. government's subsequent decision to pull its troops out of the Horn of Africa. Seymour Topping, administrator of the Pulitzer, said it "had a tremendous impact on terms of American public attitudes towards the events in Somalia and, in particular, of the role of American involvement in that country."

For Watson, challenges were nothing new. An orphaned native of the Toronto suburb of Etobicoke, he had been left by a congenital defect with no fingers on his left hand. "I'm pretty certain that in the beginning, that made me work a lot harder to show that I could do the job, but now it's of no significance," said Watson, who uses an antique Nikon 8800 camera.

On the morning of Oct. 3, as the battle flared out, a group of Somalis arrived at Watson's hotel to say their helmsmen had an American prisoner. Watson was alerted but, accompanied by a driver, an interpreter and two hired guards carrying M-16 assault rifles, set off in his converted Toyota to

find out. "On the way," Watson says, "I passed this Australian and asked him if he had seen any Americans and he said, 'Yes, I saw an American but he's not alive. He was tied up and in a wheelchair and they were pushing him around.' As we drove on, I saw Somali carrying dead Somalis to back doors and landing them into the back of pickup trucks. I tried to take photographs of them, but they frisked and threatened me with weapons so I gave up."

At a helicopter crash site, bystanders said they had seen a body being dragged away. Watson and his entourage searched the city for half an hour and were about to give up "when my driver suddenly did a U-turn because he'd seen a crowd down a side street." He went slowly up to this crowd, my two guards stepped out and explained with I was what I was, which was to take photographs, and the crowd parted and I took the first series of six, which are half-body shots. Because his body had been dragged around with only his underwear on, his underwear had been pulled to one side and his groin was being hung out."

The crowd became threatening, so Watson and company returned to the car and drove off. But then, he says, "I was sitting in the back of the car and I realized that the first

because my editor's going to use me not to run these things is that his gonads are showing leg." With interpreter and one of the guards armed with him that it was too dangerous to return, the driver simply drove back to the intersection where the crowd had passed in display the body again. "I just jumped out and the camera jumped on and I banged off six more," Watson says. "I was there no more than 10 seconds when my guards physically pulled me back into the car and we sped off. The crowd was quite angry at that point."

Watson, who had been in and out of Somalia since January, 1992, stayed for another two weeks before returning to his headquarters in Johannesburg. Of his own-son photograph, he says, "In the end, it was a good thing because there wouldn't have been any photographic evidence of this."

Watson's next assignment—covering South Africa's first national election on April 26 to 28. After that, he said, "I'll be back as still as a news I'm going to try to convince them to let me go again." Given his record thus far, the amount of permission required will likely be minimal.

RAE CORRIE

An epiphany on the Rock

Newfoundland's magic touches a U.S. writer

When Vermont writer E. Anne Prosser first visited Newfoundland in the mid-1980s, she was searching for new events and ideas in which to dip her creative paddle. "The moment I arrived I experienced this visceral feeling," she told *Prosser's* speaking by phone from her small home situated on 17 acres of Vermont hillside. "Newfoundland was magical to me in a very profound way which I can't really explain." Well, she certainly took a decent stab at it in *The Shipping News* (Macmillan, \$25.95), her coming-of-age novel about an American newspaperwoman who experiences a similar epiphany in Newfoundland. Earlier this year, it won an American National Award and *The Irish Times* International Prize for fiction. And last week, it captured another honor—the 1994 Pulitzer Prize for fiction.

Prosser's roots in Canada—and particularly the Maritime provinces—ran deep. Her paternal great-grandfather came from Quebec. While she was growing up, her family made repeated trips to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. In '36, she lived in St. John's, N.S., just over an hour from Moncton, where she completed her MA in history and worked towards a PhD at St. George's University (now Concordia). And during 13 years of freelance journalism, Prosser—a devoted mother at three sons—retired to Atlantic Canada whenever she could find an assignment or no income.

The pull from Newfoundland was even stronger. The author, now 36, was captivated by the island's raw, brooding landscape and the colorful language, which she calls "the most expressive in the world." At the same time, she found the province to be a place in constant change and turmoil. "The 21st century," says Prosser, "hangs over Newfoundland like a clouded fist."

The artist in her seems drawn to communities facing difficulties

Prosser's 1988 collection, *Heart Songs and Other Stories*, was set against the disappearing Newfoundland working class. And her first novel, *Postcards*, which won the 1992 Penn/Faulkner Award for fiction, was about a family of New England farmers struggling against the forces of the 20th century.

In that regard, New Newfoundland was nothing new. Prosser made the protagonist in her latest book a reporter named Quoyle—"I tend toward like a criminal, on a scale, reddish hair ratched back"—for the simple reason that she could think of no other way for a person to make a living in the province's blighted economy. Accompanied by his aunt and daughter, he moves to the outpost Killisnoe, a patch of places on the island's northern peninsula that Prosser has visited over the years. Does she fear for the future of the prospects that awaited her? "The history is not as saddened that a way of life is disappearing forever," she says. "But life is about change; you can't hide from it." Though *The Shipping News*, though, Prosser has managed to bring the beauty and heartbreak of Newfoundland to the world.

JOHN BARNETT



Prosser's constant change and turmoil

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What Matters to Canadians



Potholes on the information highway

BY GEORGE IVAN

PG Wodehouse, the creator of Jeeves and Bertie Wooster and other eccentric characters at a slant of comic words, delighted one of the taverns. "To my daughter Leswen without whose ever-lasting sympathy and encouragement this book would have been finished in half the time." What lesson is it in mind if I am just finishing a book, on niches, an outgrowth of the column, and, although it bears no resemblance to anything Wodehouse ever wrote, the same would make a terrifically delicious, pleasantly full, with a few wispie intrusions, primarily to replace "my daughter Leswen" with "my critic, perverse and generally unsuitable comrade".

When I joined the information highway, I wasn't even a country lane. Its principal rebuffs were the typewriter, the telephone, the teleguide and the telephone, all of which were hand-operated, did not demand an acquaintance with teletype/teletext materials and were easy to repair if anything went wrong which did not take hours.

The computer is a product of something called progress, why have I spent so much time in the past year putting the thing up in its carrying case—I live more than an hour's drive from my computer room—to have its malfunctioning ailments attended to? How is it that in all the years before, I hardly ever had to do the same with any of a variety of typewriters?

I learned to use a typewriter at the old, old Toronto Telegram where all the typewriters looked as if they had been bought at a garage sale. In all the time I was in newspapers, I never found myself with a new typewriter, nor do I remember seeing one having had one, or even having one as in a newspaper awareness. The confusion then, must be that there were no new, and that all of them came, used, from somewhere else—or not from garage sales then from Timex's push shops or perhaps the Salvation Army.

But the thing is, they worked. The loan

*Computers have only
sly, hidden ailments—
difficult to diagnose
or to fix and
frequently, I suspect,
psychosomatic*

travelling manual typewriter I ever had was one to which a letter key—I forgot which one, but probably the E because it is the most essential—would stick from time to time in the widened slot that guided the writing head to the paper it was to make its impact on. All that was needed to get it back on track was to separate the extra key from the couple more that accidentally crumbled into it after it immobilized itself, and bend it by hand in the direction away from the slot on which it was sitting.

When something was wrong with a typewriter, it was either capable of being put right like that, by the operator, or else it was irremediably broken. Nobody ever fixed anything to break on a computer. Computers have only sly, hidden ailments, difficult to diagnose, few fixable, and frequently, I suspect, psychosomatic. It is the only other word I can think of for them. Used my recent experience, if anyone had used the words "corrupted disk" to me, I would have thought they were about to embark on some long, boring session about their bad luck. Now, I must confess myself corrupted, damn myself, and know they do so about you, although the aim might be more precisely stated than just the back

I have had the machine tell me there was not enough memory to print this document and that I must quit "other applications"—I don't even know what "other applications" are—and to try printing it again. If I try not to be subtle, knowing my own memory isn't what it used to be, but I can't really accept that a much younger man's should be so satisfying. Worst of all, I have had the machine make a long sound right in my face, show a slither of a lighted band on the screen and tell me, "A fatal error has occurred." The third time it happened I found myself yelling, "Ask not for whom the bell tolls." The practical meaning of a fatal error, and to be left with the thing, is that if you have written 30 pages and gone back to tidy up something and the book's comes up at page 4, the remaining seven pages, eleven out of the past grams of the magazine, have disappeared forever. I was once appalled to hear Walter Stewart, who is a commonly profile journalist and author, say he actually liked the act of writing. I was nearly sick.

Where has all this new technology, now lumped under the heading of the information highway, got us? The MacKintosh/Levander Newsletter on PHS, the best assessment of a program on television, had a short time recently as a new system of coding that would protect business conversations from being intercepted in a Great. Right back to the type of private phones versus party lines, when the two solutions to getting scraps all the time were (a) to pay a dollar or so more and get a private line, or (b) to yell at the office party. "Get to be left off the line," which was a very and undoubtedly generous response. Also appears at the phone, what sort of silence was it that put caused voices in all businesses to tell callers which button to push or "just let us connect," who in such or like would have occurred in the first place.

The teleguide has gone, superseded for news people and some others by the laptop computer, but when the teleguide was superior, there was an operator in almost every railway station in the land from which a news story, or any other message, could be sent, day or night. There isn't now Newspapers today are omnipresent, up to the top, but the last I saw—I don't pretend to be up-to-date on this—teletext had been made extinct, not later which deprived their readers of more and more news.

Needless to say, one needs as ever. I do not denigrate progress, as it is called. Certainly not on any such narrow ground as that, in the past year, my computer has demolished a new power system, new software and a reconstituted hard drive for whatever it does with (and doesn't) not to mention. For more important news of delay and anguish. However, if any of the barriers of technology was out there were to ask for my thoughts on the information highway, I would be happy to tell them what they could do with it would not be, broadly, that they were it with gold.



For close to 20 years, millions of people have been involved in a massive spring litter clean-up program called "Pitch-In." This year, for the first time, people across Ontario will head outdoors May 2-8 to "Pitch-In for Conservation," a program of the Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters. They'll pick up close to 200,000 bags of garbage left by less conscientious people. And they'll recycle and compost much of it, while raising awareness and funds for environmental projects. They'll also raise funds for their own community programs. It's Canada's largest environmental initiative. Are you involved? To find out more, (705) 277-9190.

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THEATRE

The grand illusionist

NEEDLES AND OPium

Written, directed and performed by Robert Lepage

If there is something in theatre that Robert Lepage cannot do, no one has yet discovered it. The anthropologist 36-year-old from Quebec City has written, directed and acted in several of his own plays, including *The Dragon's Trilogy* (1985) and *Twelve Dates* (1986), which he has staged to his tremendous acclaim with his own company, Théâtre Repère. In 1992, he created a wildly successful *A Midsummer Night's Dream* for The Royal National Theatre in London and last year he directed the darkly atmospheric Canadian Opera Company production of *Shakespeare's Castle* by Daria Fukiya. He has even attracted the notice of Hollywood actor Al Pacino, who wanted Lepage to direct him in any stage by Shakespeare. (It is as much as Lepage's talents are in display in such projects, nothing captures the essence of his genius better than his one-man shows. For it is in each tour de force production as *Kraci*, his 1990 production on the Renaissance master, and *Needles and Opium*, which he recently brought to Toronto for its Canadian English-language premiere, that he reveals himself most tellingly.)

The terms of Lepage's job shows in their particular quality of intensity. His use of a quiet, almost fragile vocalization captures the imagination and trust of the audience. When he employs technical props on stage—in *Needles and Opium* he is frequently suspended from wires—he never ceases to hide the camera by which he plays his tricks. As well, he never hurries, never means his voice to be a theatrical loudness. As a result, Lepage seems to be conveying something as delicate and precious—which is both true and not true. For, in his apparently alluring way, he is creating some of the most surprising of moments ever seen in live performance.

Needles and Opium plays with one of his favorite themes: the loneliness and anguish of the individual set against the great cultural achievements of the past. The show takes place in two years, 1940 and 1945. The 1940 scenes are based on one of those historical



Robert Lepage dazzles with an astonishing tour de force

In performance: the afterglow of images persists in the mind

concoctions that Lepage loves: that year, jazz trumpeter Miles Davis left New York City to visit Paris, while French poet and filmmaker Jean Cocteau left them for New York. Lepage superimposes both these men as well as the show's third protagonist, a young Quebecois actor called Robert, who arrives in work in Paris in 1940. Robert's lover has recently rejected him, and he spends restless nights inflicting the pangs of unrequited love. Meanwhile, Davis and Cocteau explore their own hell as drug addicts and artistic outcasts.

Much of the show is set against the richly detailed backdrop of Davis's wailing horns. But it is the spirit of the surrealism Cocteau had dominated the musical proceedings. In New York, that self-declared "hot line" man is seen not so in old-war white he floats up the face of an

apartment building—an Oshon created by playing a film of the building on the screen behind Lepage. Then suddenly the film is reversed, and Lepage, turning head-over heels in his harness, seems to take an endless plunge towards the sidewalk. The effect is both thrilling and uncovering: a beautiful reminder of the precariousness of life, its only damn warning to lose people to both heights and depths indeed, Lepage constantly flirts with images of vertigo and descent, like the vortex that sucks in Robert when he has a nervous breakdown.

Often, Lepage will allow an image or sound to persist past the point where it is merely novel or entertaining. The technique roots him down, but it can also leave the viewer to absorb a sense of a deeper level. In his hotel room, Robert is disturbed by the touch of a couple making love next door. As the woman's cries go—mild and on—and on—they become comical. But they also dwell on an almost domestic undertone, as if the voice belonged to an invisible, barely touching Robert's daughter.

Descent is equally a part of Lepage's repertoire. In his one of the white scenes, he gradually reveals the haunting images. At first it seems merely a surface, but the projection of images left one point, it conveys an entire seduction scene between Davis and French singer Juliette Gréco by following the movement of their silhouetted hands. But then Lepage begins to use the screen again robotically, pressing it with his feet and body until it crackles like plastic dough.

Barely has so much dramatic tension been intentionally created since the question of a play's disability.

The show does have a low point. Some of the images are banal, and Lepage sometimes indulges in philosophical pretension. And while Robert's anguish is convincingly portrayed, the crucial scene in which he is lured back from the edge of suicide by Miles Davis—who offers him his trumpet—does not hurt, but rather is as unconvincing as silence. As a result, *Needles and Opium* lacks a catharsis. It is like enjoying 20 minutes of voluptuous love-making without attaining climax. Yet the show has allowed so much that, ultimately, it is the afterglow of its images that persists in the mind.

JAMES DENDORSE

Look back in angst

LIFE AFTER GOD

By Douglas Coupland
(Fiction House, \$24 pages, \$20)

A 19' Scott Fitzgerald-like view to the Last Generation of the Roaring Twenties, as Jack Remont was to the Beatniks of the Fifties, so Vancouver writer Douglas Coupland is to that amorphous blob of an age group known as Generation X. His 1992 novel, *Generation X: Tales from an Ameliorated Culture*, took the concerns and gripes of middle-class North Americans in their 20s and early 30s—the children of divorce, all career prospects waterlogged, all dead-end “McJobs”—and put them on the cultural map. As its best, *Generation X* is an angry, witty meditation that was courageously self-conscious about its own angst, and the angst of Xers: films, fashion and television cliché. In his latest book, a collection of short stories titled *Life After God*, Coupland, 35, steps aside the jargonism and angst of an age-group to recast the values of its angst. Unfortunately, he also steps away much of its anger and wit. What remains is the ornate.

It would be easier to credit him with *Life After God's* persona, more to bring yet another dose of angst to a generation if the book were not so pretentious. How else to describe a collection that declares on its inside back cover that “*Life After God's* stories are told in the first person, as if they were the first person without religion?” (That is also the epigraph to *In the Desert*, a short story dedicated, again rather provocatively to Michael Scott, spy and anthropologist and master of the cock game K.J. W.) An angry note on the inside of the jacket reads: “Please remove cover jacket before reading.” The small, black book underneath resembles—what else?—a Bible. Add to that the crude illustrations by Coupland that are peppered throughout the book and the result is a pretty self-conscious little volume.

Life After God only partly subverts itself. The eight stories focus, as is Coupland's work, on the familiar dilemmas of Generation X, men and women vaguely dissatisfied with middle-class society and culture. This time, however, they are older,

Generation X's creator explores a world without faith or moral focus



Coupland: a place between suburban and life on the edge

older and more inclined to deep thoughts as they beat their heads against the invisible walls of career, marriage and death. In *Life After God*, Coupland's pessimism—all the stories are told in the first person—and even characters are as portraits of anti-adolescence, trying to find their place between suburban and life on the edge. The recently divorced narrator in *Little Greenies* survives with the loss of his youthful dreams of beauty and fame as he drifts with his daughter to the interior of British Columbia. In *The Desert* characters make futile journeys through the southwestern United States as he tries to catch a break of loss of a central core. Along the way he grows at the end, the only—and his novel. “I had recently begun writing about my feelings deep-

pearing more and more—noting that I had seemed to finally be feeling true and free.” No more, here or elsewhere, is given for that sense of nothingness, except “that’s what people believe as they age.” The characters are vaguely depressed, unstable, worried about the passage of time. What is surprising is that Coupland has them doing so little about it.

Then again, solutions hardly seem to be Coupland's concern—he is fixated on defining problems. And his Xers have a lot of them. “I think I am a broken person,” becomes the mantra in *1,000 Years (Life After God)*, which centers on the breakdown of an people who are trying to deal with adulthood—finally—in their 30s. “I endlessly rehash the compromises I have made in my life,” he confesses. “I have lost the ability to acquire the past or feelings of my younger years in exchange for a streamlined narrow-mindedness that I assumed would propel me to the top.” What a joke? What a despair.

Besides depression, the stories in *Life After God* are often gnawed by an overwhelming sense of nostalgia. The narrator in *Gripping*, who is breaking up with his wife, recalls their honeymoon as “two days of not having to be ourselves, of being unstable and true, of hoping that the children of our wars would cancel out the advantages of having gotten married.” In other stories, nostalgia for better times seems to recall Remont's ideal of the male savage. At the end of *1,000 Years*, which begins with a hard-headedness of administrative slinking days in suburban pools, the troubled narrator finds his solace in a wistful journey with nature to the depths of Vancouver Island's ancient rain forests.

Such elegiac escapes come across as less than convincing. Coupland's characters, born into a world without faith or moral focus, are defined by their inability to alter their circumstances. Still, he at least discusses that depressive awareness with stunning clarity. *Life After God*, about a man on a desperate search for his rebellious older sister, is a tightly written and touching examination of memory and loss. Yet eventually, eight stories about the passing of things and an unending, un-creative search for the collection of positive thoughts exposes its inability to transcend the rather banal theme that work life needs. In *Life After God*, Coupland pens the above and, not surprisingly, finds nothing there.

JOE GIBBY

Trial and tribulation



Walker (left), MacLachlan: as a man's lead between paranoia and conspiracy

THE TRIAL

Directed by David Jones

Francis Kafka and Harold Pinter are both masters of such singular interior as their names have spawned adjectives—the latter any equivalent of being incarcerated on a street sign “*Kafkaesque*” has come to describe the spooky, claustrophobic life that lives between paranoia and conspiracy. “Pinteresque” refers to an elliptical style of dialogue, rising on the sound, in which characters connect as much as they revolve. The idea of Kafka's story conspiring with Pinter's language seems almost too ludicrous for words. But in the playwright's new screen version of the novelist's 1925 classic, *The Trial*, their similarities dovetail beautifully.

Pinter's fastidious adaptation is, oddly enough, less modern than the 1962 version by Orson Welles, who reinterpreted Kafka's story as a surreal nightmare of a man losing his mind in *Cold War America*. Among for otherworldly atmospheres, the new *Trial* tries to be faithful to the novel, not down to its period setting of 1914 Prague. British director David Jones has assembled a strong cast, including James Wilton and Anthony Hopkins, but the choice of Kyle MacLachlan for the lead role is unfortunate. Although he fits into the rest of the cast by fit into a credible British accent, there is

nothing going on behind the eyes, no inner life. That man has disconnected characters—up to a point—but ultimately it just seems like bad acting.

MacLachlan plays Joseph K., the senior bank clerk who wakes up one morning to find himself mysteriously under arrest. He is not impressed but failed to travel a veritable maze against through a mass of arbitrary and preposterous legal procedures (documented in a boring, K stages a spirited defense before a silent audience, only to be interrupted by a couple making love at the back of the hall. He later consults with a beleaguered lawyer (Hopkins), but stays into the arms of the lawyer's mistress (Vicky Walker), a woman with method fugues. And he receives some nonsensical legal advice from a gossipy painter (John Malkovich) who has influence with the judges.

The story, which slips through doorways with dream-like logic, has some great moments of visual absurdity—such as the scene in which K. steps from a well-lit room into a darkened room, a well-lit room into a darkened room. In his black-and-white version, Welles created a dire noir ambience of monstrous shadows, moaning lights and mini-street corridors. Anthony Hopkins played K. as a neurotic cop in an unbalanced America, with a factory-

ward office and a giant computer. Manipulating Kafka's vision to apocalyptic dimensions, Welles even placed his characters' necks on the arched ceiling, by ambulating K. in a mushroom cloud.

Jones shows the story more controversially, against gothic stone-work and wood-paneled staircases. Visually, he does nothing to match the idiosyncratic imagery of Welles. And after Steven Soderbergh's *Kafka* (1991), in *After* his Wednesday excursion through the author's life and art starring Jeremy Irons, the new *Trial* seems abrid. That the strength of Pinter's version lies in his language, not his imagery. And that becomes most apparent in the classic cerebral scene, where K. hears the priest (Hopkins) converse the middle of the law.

Wells almost shows the scene away, but Pinter makes his pace the residence with a speech that unfolds with surgical precision. He is questioning. He says Pinter's words with a way, because he is not a moment of Richard III at his best. And as the actor brings Kallen into explicit focus through the prism of Pinter's cold intelligence, it almost makes up for the fact that MacLachlan is not Anthony Perkins.

CRIMINAL

Directed by Claude Berri

The Trial is a masterful blend of a classic European novel about the destruction of human dignity. But unlike Kafka's confused showdown between the individual and the state, *Gomorra* is a story of class war. Adapted from the 1965 book by Emilio Zola, it presents an epic tale of corruption who must long battle against their cruel bosses. A mafia Grand Dragon plays Malheur, a simple man struggling to survive with his wife (Malkovich) and their seven children on starvation wages. The popular French writer Gustave Giono—whose beautiful career on the barricades of the May 1968 student revolts to Paris—makes his acting debut as Henric, a man in a white shirt who comes with Malheur's family, tells her for his daughter and seduces the others to rebel.

Directed by Claude Berri (Monsieur de Sade), *Gomorra* is a shining gem in all its brutal, visceral details—from the crude mechanics of 19th-century money to the daily ritual of scrubbing off bodies blackened with coal dust in a single daily bath. But in the 19th-century story wears on, it is the spending too long in a meat-and-potatoes prison. The film's didactic agenda undercuts the sense of a gripping narrative. And Zola's heroism's battles about the nobility of proletarian sacrifice reduce its characters to unknown soldiers in a social-class drama.

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